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ADDRESSES

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ADDRESSES

OF

REV. DRS. PARK, POST, & BACON,

AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE

AMERICAN

CONGREGATIONAL UNION,

MAY, 1854.

PUBLISHED FOR THE AM. CONG. UNION.

NEW YORK:

CLARK, AUSTIN & SMITH.

BOSTON: S. K. WHIPPLE & CO.

1854.

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1854

EMMANUEL

STOR

THE FITNESS OF THE CHURCH TO THE CONSTITUTION OF RENEWED MEN.

AN

ADDRESS,

DELIVERED MAY 10, 1854, IN BROOKLYN, N. Y., BEFORE THE

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION,

BY

EDWARDS A. PARK,

ABBOT PROFESSOR IN ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.



THE FITNESS OF THE CHURCH TO THE CONSTITUTION OF RENEWED MEN.

ADDRESS.

EVERY one is familiar with the distinction between the positive and the moral, as applied to laws and institutions. It is well to retain these terms in their distinct sense. There are positive enactments of men, which are not moral, having no intrinsic propriety of their own. On the other hand, there are moral duties which are not positively commanded by human governors. Under the divine administration, however, the positive and the moral do not entirely exclude each other. Laws and institutions which are positive, have an inherent fitness, although not so apparent as those which are moral. On the other hand, laws and institutions which are moral, receive the positive sanction of Jehovah, although, apart from this positive sanction, they have an authority from Heaven. It is, then, in a modified sense, that *divine* statutes are called arbitrary or thetical; their intrinsic value being just as real, but not as obvious, as is the inherent worth of moral statutes. Thus we denominate the Christian Sabbath a positive institution; for, independently of the divine command, we should be slower to detect its importance, than the importance of supreme love to our Maker. It has, however, a moral or philosophical basis. It is adapted to the constitution of man. It meets the wants of the human body, as well as of the intellect and heart. It is so conformed to the structure of a nation, that our political as well as ecclesiastical prosperity depends upon our observance of the Lord's day. We prove the divinity of the Sabbatical ordi-

nance from its harmony with our constitution, and we infer its harmony with our constitution from its divinity. The ministerial office, also, is prescribed in the New Testament, and it thus has a positive, which is of itself a sure basis. But this basis overlies a moral groundwork. The adaptation of the office to the very make of the soul is a signature of its divine origin, and is alike a cause and a proof of its irrepressible influence. The religious sentiment demands a consecrated order of men, who shall be an embodiment of the religious idea. It insists on having a specific organ of communication between earth and Heaven. By their very nature, men are impelled to demand such an organ for expressing their devotedness to a superior power; because, themselves being disturbed by the turmoils of life, they confide so much the more in a selected band who dwell amid the stillness of the temple, and are imagined to have the spirit, as they are seen to have the marks, of unusual godliness. On the same principle, it is an impulse of nature that men desire a special organ for receiving their choicest gifts from Heaven; because, immersed as men are in the cares of life, they need a class of instructors from whom they may gain spiritual wisdom. They have a faith in the teaching, instruction, and example of those who devote their life to the mysteries of religion, as they have a faith in the instructions of professed mechanics, or philosophers, or jurists. Thus, if the Christian ministry were not prescribed in the New Testament, it would still be a divine institution. The Church, likewise, by which, in its Biblical form, I mean a society of ostensible Christians, bound together by covenant, and meeting together for the worship of God, the observance of sacramental and other divine ordinances, is justly called a positive institution. It was formed by Christ in the most solemn, though simple manner. Unless it had been expressly organized by its Divine Head, the authority of it would have been less clear than it is now. But the Church has, moreover, a moral ground. It is

beautifully accordant with the aims and aspirations of a devout mind. It is admirably fitted to express many deep thoughts, to address many fine sensibilities. It is none the less, but all the more divine, because it satisfies a class of wants otherwise inappeasable. It is none the less, but all the more accommodated to our wants, because it is divine. The wisdom of God is manifest in setting an ecclesiastical structure over against our religious sentiments, and making the outward significant of the inward. The dignity of man is evident from the fact, that he needs a divine sanction for his religious observances, and these observances lose their power over him if they be separated from his Maker. A Bible, as a positive revelation, must be added to natural instruction. Faith must combine with reason. Men were made for God, and God adapts his administration to men. We may augment our reverence for the divine government, if we consider the tendency of its various institutes to ameliorate the character and condition of our race. Therefore it will be the aim of the present address, *to specify certain principles of the renewed mind to which the Church, particularly in its purest forms, is fitted, and by which it educates men.**

It is obvious, in the first place, that the institution of the Church is fitted to express and to exalt our estimate of the soul's value. We have a consciousness that the mind is of rare dignity. The refinement of its thoughts, the grace of its sentiments, the loftiness of its aspirations, the wide and ever widening reach of its powers, have given to men the irrepressible conviction of their being so formed that they

* When we speak of "the Church, *particularly* in its purest forms," we, of course, imply that there are *various* forms of a true Church, some less, some more in unison with the Biblical standard. They range from the Church of the Pilgrims to the Church of Rome, and as they include both of these, so they embrace the intermediate churches.

may even please God by worshipping him. They have aspired to be like their Maker. They have conceived of him as the model of which they are the images. Even the Greeks, with all their nice regard to decorum, fashioned their divinities in the likeness of the most athletic or graceful men. The Bible heightens, rather than lowers our estimate of the soul's worth. It assures us that our nature, in the person of our Redeemer, is elevated to a seat at God's right hand; that the sublimest act of Jehovah has been performed in his union with man; that the glory of the Most High is not fully revealed except in the atonement which has identified our history with his. Such is the soul. This is the inspired record of its greatness. Our sense of its value needs to be expressed. How shall we express it? Not by pyramids to its honor, not by proud monumental inscriptions, so well as by assemblies convened for the praise of the Infinite Spirit; by a visible communion with the Sovereign who treats us, although his subjects, as his children. Here is the true dignity of men, that they band themselves together in a brotherhood for the reception of spiritual influences from the Father whom they adore. There is no man so beggared, but he may join with the company of those whom God calls his chosen ones. Superior to our Saviour's miracles of causing the deaf to hear, and the blind to see, and the dead to rise, was the ordinance that the sublimest truths ever revealed should be proclaimed, in the most emphatic way, not to the rich only, but "*to the poor.*" And the Church, even the most corrupt, has in some degree accommodated itself to the ignoble in all ages, even in the darkest. In the Romish communion, monarchs are seen washing the feet of paupers. At the Reformation, Luther addressed the men of learning and the men of authority; but his main reliance was on the people. His hymns fascinated the men, women, and children, who sung them in the fields and streets; his musical compositions were suited to the taste of the populace, as well as the

amateurs. He thus moved the masses. Without them, the Electors themselves would have feared to go forward. Influence worked from the lower orders to the higher upward. More than once, when a Romish divine began to inveigh against the doctrines of the Reformation, the people, thronging the sanctuary, and strangely forgetting all decorum, would drown his voice in the congregational singing of some Lutheran and deeply evangelical stanzas. For whenever the mind of the populace is moved, it is like the sea and the waves roaring. For there is an energy found nowhere so stirring as in the soul when quickened by communion with kindred spirits, and when conventional restraints are laid aside, and each gives vent outright to all his emotions. Every Church organization should cultivate a high sense of Christian propriety, a punctilious courtesy, but it cannot be appropriate to the real endowments of a soul, unless it repose a confidence in the practical wisdom of that soul when renewed by its great Author. It must educate the affluent powers of the mind which was made that it may be developed. It must give to each mind its healthful activity, and thus pay homage to the grace that has enriched the humblest disciple; for what God hath honored, let none of his servants despise. A pure Church will not withdraw its trust from a man merely because he is a layman; for he is a *man*, and a renewed man is God's noblest work. Few divines had ever studied the Bible so profoundly as the Puritan fathers of New England; few had learned, from experience, such costly lessons as they on ecclesiastical government; few had studied so minutely the records of the Church, Ante-Papal, Papal, and Reformed; they perceived that the true ecclesiastical spirit, so far as it was a religious spirit, had fraternized with men in humble life; had lived in them eminently; and from them the great movements of the Church had received impulse. Hence, our Pilgrim ancestors characterized their Church system by

its brotherly regard for man as man, apart from his office. It is said, they had no ecclesiastical emblems; but the very words of their ecclesiastical documents were emblems of their respect for the dignity of a church composed of souls. Their councils did not cite a church, nor summon a church to appear before them, nor order a church to send up a document, nor direct a church to keep any human ordinance; but, if the church asked their advice, they gave advice in a respectful, and thus a manly style; if it desired them to recommend some remedy for a grievance, they yielded to the desire, and *recommended* measures which they were too deferential to enforce. They inserted in their form of church discipline a most beautiful provision illustrating their reverence for the mind of every visible Christian, even the most obscure. So they gave a meaning to the phrase, "*mother church.*" If the humblest disciple be aggrieved by an act of his companions, he is entitled to the arbitration of a mutual council. A majority of the church have pronounced their decision against him, but it is possible that an ambitious or envious feeling controlled them. He is not to be summarily excluded from all hope;—he is a soul, capable of indefinite expansion; he has claims for relief if he be wronged; he is not compelled to bow down in silence before a priest who may be unhealthily elated with a consciousness of power, nor to abide by the decision of certain men around him who form one standing judicature, and who may be disqualified for a fair decision by partisan hopes or fears, by social affinities, by personal obligations; nor is he shut up to a trial before a state or national tribunal, who are commissioned without any view of their fitness for arbitrating in precisely such a cause, and who have neither the serenity nor the leisure to examine with care and faithfulness the claims of this one man, a stranger, whose interests are but a small item in the multiplicity and the novelty of the concerns pressing upon the mind of his numerous judges.

He refers his case to a few men, selected for their skill in exactly such arbitrations. Some of them are chosen by himself and are the especial objects of his regard. They are not compelled to conduct their investigations according to technical canons, but they are confided in as *men*, having good sense, able to meet an exigency, to examine *minutiae* for which there can be no fixed rule. Their candid discursive judgment is exercised and strengthened by being trusted; the community rely on their decisions more than on the decisions of a civil jury. A secular court has sometimes condemned a man whom an ecclesiastical Council has acquitted, and sometimes acquitted a man whom an ecclesiastical Council has condemned; but the decision of the Council has prevailed over that of the Court as more impartial, less embarrassed by conventional formalities, more consonant with the fair demands of a free mind. Such aid is provided for even the weakest of the elect saints. If he be refused the arbitration of a Council chosen mutually by himself and his accusers, still he is not crushed, the dignity of his immortal being is not forgotten; he is allowed to call in for himself the churches good and true in which he may confide; and their wisdom may sketch out a straight path through his perplexities. It has happened to me within a few days, to read several old documents written by the elder Edwards, and his friend Hopkins; and I have been touched by the moral sublimity of several councils which they attended, investigating for an entire day, and with more than a father's patience, the complaint of some hired laborer, and then adopting no magisterial tones, but adjusting their advice to his necessities, as if they were the exigencies of an empire. For the mind is an empire, and the care of its virtues is a more than regal responsibility. For what shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul! The sense of freedom nurtured by the congregational polity, is a fruit of no rampant Jacobinism, but of a brotherly interest in the mind for which Christ died. The spirit of our

communion is to leave the ninety and nine, and search for the one sheep lost upon the mountains. It remembers that whom the Father did foreknow, them he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, and whom he did predestinate, them he called, and therefore justified, and consequently glorified. Such minds, if not looked for and cared for by the church,—whom can they trust on earth? and whoso doeth an ill to the least of them, doeth the same ill to Him who includes them in himself. Hence it comes, that a church faithful to the spirit of our Puritan ancestors, to their history and their influence, is in its inmost heart a society for the extension of freedom. Even when it abstains from political disputes, it silently moulds political institutions. It is effective in its operations on the State, by simply enforcing the truth that whom the Son makes free, the same are free indeed.* By the diffusing of a pure ecclesiastical system, we redeem the sons of God from captivity; for the genius of the system is, that all believers Greek or Barbarian, bond or free, are brethren, foreordained alike to reign as kings and priests unto God. It says to the slave, who has been refashioned in his Sovereign's image: If thy brother, who claims the ownership of thee, shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother; but if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more of thy fellow bond-

* "It soon became apparent (in the reign of Elizabeth in England), that they (the Puritans) tended naturally towards republicanism; for certain it is, that monarchy and episcopacy, the throne and the altar, are much more nearly connected than writers of bad faith or little reflection have sought to persuade mankind. Besides this insensible, but natural inclination towards democracy, which arises from the principles of a popular church government, there was another cause why the current should set in that direction; it was only under Commonwealths that the Puritans saw their beloved discipline flourish."—*London Quarterly Review*, vol. xvi., pp. 517, 518.

men; and if he shall neglect to hear them, tell his fault to the church, even if they be all his legal property; and if he neglect to hear *that* church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man, and whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven. No scheme of despotism can survive the liberalizing spirit of such a discipline. Here is compressed a political power, illustrating the foresight of him who buries the seeds of a lengthened history in one brief statute. The moral of this statute is, that all men whom the Spirit of the Lord has made free from sin, have essentially the same rights. Hence it was the opinion of Mr. Pitt, that if the Church of England had been efficiently established in the North American colonies, they would never have refused allegiance to the British crown. It was the policy of not a few English statesmen to introduce into these colonies an ecclesiastical regimen which would favour, rather than oppose a spirit of subjection to the father land. It is true that the advocates of our political freedom were found in sects of all names; some manly defenders of it arose from the Romish communion; still we are not arrogant in claiming, what our political and ecclesiastical opponents have often conceded, that the self-sustaining spirit of the New-England churches emboldened their members to resist the usurpations of Britain. Partly by the habit, which these churches fostered, of independent thought on the most momentous themes, the colonies were, in the significant phrase of Lord Clarendon, "already hardened into republics." The zeal for political freedom was quickened, perpetuated, and made authoritative by the religious sentiment, that a *mind* is too noble to be in bondage; that the law of God commands and the glory of God requires the free thought, free speech, and free act of a spirit which can be developed only by freedom. The temper of a New England church-meeting suggested the idea of the political town-meeting: and the principle of the town-meeting is the basis of our republic. One of our fond hopes for this republic is derived

from the affinity of its germinating law with that of the church brought over in the May Flower; from the known influence which that church organization had upon the colonial spirit and history, and upon the mind of the framers of our national Constitution,* and from the faith that He who made the soul for unshackled activity in the right, will honor the principles of government established by himself.

It is objected that an ecclesiastical regimen which gives to the poorest man an equality with the richest, can never satisfy the select classes. The select classes?—Who are they? Such as dream of being elevated above their race in mere etiquette or office, and will not recognise the dignity of a soul as such? The church was never designed to satisfy men who give themselves up to the fripperies of fashion. If it complied with their instincts, it would forfeit its honor as a church. It might be respectable as an association for purposes of emolument or pleasure; but, as an ecclesiastical institution, it will lose the general homage, unless it exemplify the greatness of the mind that was in Christ Jesus, who for the rescue of our spiritual being, emptied himself of the divine glory. There is no right-hearted church that does not aspire to an honor above that of aristocratic fortunes, even the honor of being composed of men who are *men*, and who feel a meaning in the word, *human*. Other things may be admired for other reasons; but that it is the admirable *religion* which expresses and reveres the wisdom of God

* "Several years before the American Revolution, there was near the house of Mr. Jefferson, in Virginia, a Church which was governed on congregational principles, and whose monthly meetings he often attended. Being asked how he was pleased with their church government, he replied that it had struck him with great force, and interested him very much; that he considered it the only form of pure democracy that then existed in the world, and had concluded that it would be the best plan of government for the American Colonies." See *Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge*; Article "Congregationalists," prepared under the supervision of Drs. Emerson and Wisner. See also *Memoir of David Hale*, pp. 275, 6.

in appending to every, to one single moral act of a soul, an infinite retribution. Seldom has there been consecrated to the Christian ministry a mind so majestic as that of Robert Hall. When one of his blundering parishioners prayed for him in his own presence at a meeting of the church, and characterized him as deficient in certain ministerial qualifications, the great man, while grieved at the indecorum of his reprover, responded *Amen* to the prayer. The uncouthness of the suppliant was incongruous with the true order of the church; for the spirit of the church is that of an accurate taste. No one could reprobate it more than he whose faults were thus solemnly exaggerated; but the earthly shepherd was kindred with the Chief Shepherd of our souls; he devoted his vast learning and his large heart to the culture of minds needing improvement; he allowed no obliquities and no vulgarities of his flock to intercept his view of their substantial worth. Far from being ashamed of his people, he honored them as a royal priesthood; and while the nobility of England hung with delight upon his eloquence, and the doors of the Establishment opened for his admission, and the highest preferments awaited him there, he manifested the true nobility of a Congregational pastor, remembering that every soul is capable of infinite refinement, and the grandeur of the most accomplished mind is seen in its self-denial for the most necessitous. Our great office is to elevate men who *require* elevation. In this upward progress we must encounter many roughnesses; our sensibilities must be often pained; we must be conversant with those from whom some of our more delicate tastes would shrink; but the soul is worthy of all this cost; its education is more of a good than our æsthetic pain is an evil; and if the most refined of all men could live for three weary years with Judas Iscariot, we may join in conference and in counsel with the most uncultivated brother, who is also a brother of his Lord.

Secondly, the institution of the Church is fitted to express and to exercise our sense of individual responsibility. Intimate as our social alliances are, they can never eradicate our conviction that a soul was made for personal duty. In all his corporate relations, the moral sense of every man individualizes him. He reads: *Thou* shalt love the Lord *thy* God, with all *thy* heart. The promises are addressed to him in the singular number. Each man is to repent for himself, and to believe for himself in Jesus, who tasted death for every man as singly as if there were only one man to be redeemed. Every individual is to die on his separate couch, to be "in *his* narrow cell for ever laid," to rise again as if he were alone, to meet his Judge face to face, to enjoy his own bliss, or to endure his own woe. This consciousness of an insulated responsibility struggles to be expressed. The church was designed to body it forth and give it strength. Our Puritan fathers, remembering that there had ever been, and foreseeing that there would continue to be a tendency to merge the individual into an organism, and to forget all personal duty in the imposing form of an ecclesiastical unit, labored to restore the Biblical idea, that there is no real visible church, other than an assembly of individuals, covenanting to meet together for the purpose of discharging the most solemn personal duties to God, and to themselves in Him. Our history has proved, that this feeling of separate accountability, as it stands related to a conviction of the soul's worth, is a central wheel in the apparatus of philanthropic movement; it starts as many benevolent enterprises as there are minds that recognize their private duties. Hundreds of eleemosynary institutions have sprung from this impulse of personal responsibility for the souls of men, and for their physical as conducive to their mental welfare. Our creed, representing the society of believers in one place as a church complete in itself, does not allow it to throw off upon a national organization any part of the responsibility for the moral culture of that one place. It thus quickens the vitality of the local

organism, and makes it a germ of philanthropic societies for the relief and the culture of man. It devolves the momentous interests of religion upon every member of that church as really as if he stood by himself. A monarch has said, "I am the State." But no Committee, or Session, or Pastor, or Board of Pastors, have a right to say: "We are the Church." It is a truism, that the church are the men who compose it. Every man has his own vote on every grave proposal. For this vote he must prepare his mind and his heart. He has a judgment and a conscience, and the command is to him, as to the Jewish king: "Be strong and show thyself a man." Tell thy brother's trespass not merely to the officers of the church, but to the church, is the rule; to all the men whom God has called into it, and who are therefore worthy of your confidence. Let each of these men recognize his obligation to study as a juror, or an ethical philosopher, the peculiarities of this individual wrong, the mode of reparation and rebuke. So are the varied sensibilities of every believer educated. What searchings of his own heart, what purifying of himself, what penitential faith have been quickened within him by this critical discipline. Cicero has discoursed eloquently on the advantages of a civil prosecution to the men who conduct it. The Apostles intended that the community of believers should be disheartened from sin by their mingling in the ecclesiastical reproof of it. Deep and prolonged reformations of the church have risen from this participating of its members in the solemn duty of adjudging the demerits of a fellow communicant. His heart has reflected theirs as face answereth to face in a mirror; and in censuring him they have learned, almost as from a sacrament, their own individual need of expiatory blood.

And when the discipline of transgressors is devolved upon the body of the communicants, it will be performed, unless the peculiar aptitudes of our organization be peculiarly neglected. If it rest upon the minister alone, there is danger that he will fear to encounter the titled dignitary

who has been accused of wrong. If the duty be assigned to an established board of officers, they have a strong temptation for recoiling from the peril. They are too few, too conspicuous, for a conflict with some erring brother who may enlist the sympathies of the people against them. But there is a courage in the assembly of the brethren. According to the very laws of mind, the individuals meeting as a band of equals, rejoicing in their responsibility to God and to God alone, stimulate and fortify each other. An absolute monarchy forbids the public convocation of a church as hazardous to tyrannical sway. Good men, in such a course, become valiant in resisting wrong wherever it be detected. A titled offender does not overawe the multitude of faithful men. What philosophy teaches, history confirms; the churches of New England, as compared with those of Germany, bear plain witness that the most healthful discipline is administered where every man is responsible for a voice in it.

Nor is it only administered—it is felt, when it assumes a popular form. The censure of a pastor is the word of but one man. A small number of church officers do not speak with the authority which comes from the people. There is a sometimes inexplicable power in the decision of a church, when every individual member of the church aids with deliberateness and with prayer in the forming of that decision. The New Testament bids the mass of believers to discipline an offender; because, if each of them seek to be led by the Spirit, the voice of them all is the voice of God. Good men, every one of them, searching for the truth candidly, dispassionately, cautiously, in reliance on the divine word, and in supplication for the divine wisdom, will not bind on earth one who is to be loosed in Heaven, nor will they loose on earth one who is to be bound in Heaven. Is it too much to anticipate, that all the brethren in the church will bring an earnest, candid, humble temper to the act of Christian discipline? This is their responsibility. Here is

their motive for scrutinizing their hearts, and educating themselves for the grave office assigned them. The theory is, that all ought to unite in the godly discipline of an offender, and a just theory helps to secure a right practice.

There is, too, an emphatic meaning in a popular vote, when taken, as it may be, as it always should be, as it sometimes is, to admit a member into the church; and every one who gives that vote is called to purify his own conscience, in fitting himself for his decision. There are various symbols of ecclesiastical dignity. The lofty arches and spires of the cathedral are said to body forth this idea. And other communions are said to be superior to our own in their symbols of the grandeur belonging to the assembly of the saints. But when an humble pastor in the obscurest hamlet propounds a man or a woman for admission to the elect society, and thereby invites all the communicants, if they deem it well, to examine the candidate, to propose objections or queries, and to prepare for a solemn assent or dissent, there cannot be a more eloquent emblem of the loftiness and the purity of the institution, guarded thus by all its members, every man responsible for watching at its gates, and securing the entrance of those only who are "the beloved of God," "called to be saints."

This very fact of the responsibility of each man to make the visible church, as far as he may, conterminous with the invisible church on earth, is the spring which historians have strangely failed to notice, but which moved our divines in the last century, to examine the laws of church membership with more thoroughness than these laws had been canvassed for ages before, and to unfold principles which have exerted a purifying influence on various other communions in this and in our mother country.

It is human nature—it is sanctified human nature—to feel the significance of the vote by which an assembly of men, moved of their own proper impulse, unawed by ecclesiasti-

cal patrons or ecclesiastical courts, invite a minister to preside over them. He feels that he has been *elected* to his genial work. The heart of the multitude comes out after him. With spontaneous acclamation they welcome him. He is the friend of their choice rather than acceptance. He educates the souls who have thus, by their independent love of him, received him into their affections. In qualifying themselves to elect a pastor, hundreds of laymen have read, and reflected, and reasoned more than in any process of their secular life.

It is objected—for a regimen that calls up every man to a grave work is not congenial with our love of ease, and will not escape opposition—it is objected that our ecclesiastical system is noisy and clumsy; every man must think his own thought and say his own word; every measure must wait for majorities of the people; and every individual among the people must be convinced in his own way, and at his own time. We are obliged to admit that no popular government can hush its processes into an absolute stillness. The training of the general conscience results in some debate. An enlightened vote is preceded by discussion. But the excellence of our system is,—it aims to confine our discussions within the lines of their appropriate usefulness. It disciplines the spirit of those men who are best fitted to examine the questions in debate, and who are so situated that they must act upon the questions. As we make every church responsible for itself, exempt from the authoritative interference of distant churches, we do not convulse the ecclesiastical bodies of the entire land by one village controversy. We do not arouse a national organization for the trial of some recreant bishop or deacon. Ours a noisy system? It is open, frank, ingenuous; it exposes whatever is wrong in its administration, but as it limits the number of ecclesiastical rulers, it tends to repress officious intermeddling, to hush a contention by lessening the area over which it can spread itself, to soften a controversy by exclud-

ing remote combatants from lordly participation in it. Ours a clumsy system? It is clumsy for the purposes which it was never intended to serve. It does not multiply facilities by which an ambitious man may climb into high office, or an envious man may depress his rival. In order to preserve the church pure, it holds out few glittering offices for ambition to seize at, and in order to keep the church peaceable, it discourages those national preferments which inflame the envy of ten men, while they gratify the pride of one man. Various controversies of the church have arisen, not so much from any serious question of doctrine, as from the official question, "Who shall be the greatest in the kingdom of God?" Various ecclesiastical trials have been prompted, not so much by a brotherly concern for the errors of the accused, as by an envious uneasiness at his high station. Therefore, our church system does drag heavily, when men would pervert it to rolling forward any scheme of personal aggrandizement or resentment. It was contrived for obstructing rather than accelerating the progress of selfish men. It does not transform ministers into lawyers, nor provide a machinery by which a manœuvring partizan may work at his will a complicated organization. If the church be designed for sustaining a secular or sectarian aristocracy, rather than for religious growth, our ecclesiastical regimen is a failure. We have an awkward apparatus for securing the co-operation of the multitude in a scheme of doubtful usefulness. Our measures must commend themselves to the good sense of good men, or they cannot be urged on by our system, misshapen as it is for ecclesiastical ambuscades. The merit of a pure church is, that it aims in toilsome ways to elevate society in general by educating the particular men who compose it. Its end is gained not by authoritative movements of a hierarchy, but by the distinct efforts of each individual in rectifying his own perceptions, and purifying his own feelings by obedience to the truth through the Spirit. If these individualizing aims make the progress of

the church slow, they tend to make it sure. If our ecclesiastical plan stimulate every church member to inquire, "Lord, what wilt thou have *me* to do," it also favors a kind of discussion that heightens the dignity of a mind; and this discussion is the opposite of noise. The very clumsiness of its machinery for sectarian stratagems, is its expertness in training the individual for the world to come. Its distinctive and disciplinary motto enjoins one of the hardest, as it is one of the choicest of the virtues: "Let every church," as Paul writes of every individual, "study to be quiet and to do its own business; ambitious of no sovereignty over its neighbors, except the moral sovereignty of an example dissuading from pride, ostentation, selfish ease; persuading to self-rule, self-denial, condescension for the good of all men, devout fellowship with the brethren.

We often hear the inquiry, Why is it that so many churches, of so many sects, are eager to obtain teachers and pastors from the ecclesiastical institutions of New England? Doubtless, out of her rugged soil has come up some strength into the intellect of her sons. Her chill atmosphere has breathed an energy and a fortitude into their spirits. But there are Canadian winds which have not thus stimulated the Canadian mind. There is a soil in Nova Scotia, that might have been as disciplinary as the soil of Vermont. There are *varied* causes of this difference, and *among* these causes is the fact, that our churches have individualized their members, made them responsible for religious, the most invigorating and expanding of all duties, imparted to them spiritual wisdom in the committee-room, the conference-room, the business meetings of the brethren. These brethren have lived in an ecclesiastical school. They have drawn instruction from their ministers, as from doctors of educational institutes. They have not been bound down to rubrics and minute formularies, but have been thrown upon their own discretion. Their main book of discipline has been their own fair judgment, enlightened by the Bible. Instead of

being servants of arbitrary rules, they have exercised themselves to become men of principle. There is nothing that so arouses the activity of the intellect—nothing reaches down so far into the very elements of our being, as the conviction of our own personal duty in conducting the affairs of the kingdom of God on earth. The obligation to select wise legislators in the state, to secure the passage of wholesome laws, invigorates the mind less, expands the charities of the heart less, than the obligation to watch over, to advise, and to aid the assembly of the brethren. If the pious men in the provinces of France had been trained, during the last two centuries, under the discipline of New England churches, judging for themselves with regard to doctrine and practice, feeling themselves called of Heaven to give their individual advice, on their own individual reasons, at the assembling of the local church, and at the ecclesiastical council, there would have gone forth from these men an influence quickening the mind of the entire community, and the nation which is now too ill-trained for preserving a republic, would have been too well-trained to endure a usurpation. And it is partly for the maintaining of our political institutions, for the educating of our people to give an intelligent suffrage, that we desire to see the same ecclesiastical principles moulding the character of our Western States, as helped to form the intellect and conscience of our New England colonies.

In the third place, the institution of the Church is fitted to address and to quicken our sense of nearness to Jehovah. At a table in New York, Mr. Webster was once asked by the late Col. Stone, "What is the most important thought that ever occupied your mind?" After a pause, the statesman replied: "My individual responsibility to God." Our nearness to our Judge is seen in our accountability to him for the powers which he has given us, and upon which his eye is fixed ever. So far forth as we love him, we are united to him; he dwells in us by actuating our

wills ; we dwell in him by intercommunion with him. Our feeling that he is not far from any one of us, seeks expression in the church. Romanism has essayed to give it an outward symbol in the sacrifice of the mass. The Godhead abides in the sacristy, is touched in the bread, looked at in the wine. The Puritan fathers of New England, fearless as they were of men, trembled before God, and they adopted a form of church polity that bodied forth the idea of their ceaseless contact with Him. This polity exalts inspired men above the fathers ; because inspired men are the conduits through which the wisdom of Heaven flows down to us : it refuses to erect any creed to an equality, or an approach to an equality, with the sacred volume.

It has been objected to us, that we have no creed.—None ? We have a richer collection of creeds than is possessed by any other body of Christians on earth. And these creeds, being drawn out for individual churches, are apt to be more carefully and less superstitiously studied by the communicants to whom they are appropriated, than are any human symbols composed for promiscuous use. Such is the tendency, even if not the fact. And the substance of nearly all of these creeds is the same, their form only being diversified. Our generic confession of faith is the essence of our hundreds of local compends. The appositeness of our creeds is, that they are framed by the individual churches, as the prayers of the sanctuary are composed by the individual ministers who offered them. So are these creeds emblems of an immediate communion with God. They are drawn out of the Bible directly. Several of the early New England churches framed elaborate catechisms for themselves. There were other catechisms which these churches approved in the main ; but they chose to exhibit the idea that they derived their faith from no human reservoir, but from the fountain of all truth. The God of truth was near them and led them into the knowledge of himself.

Our ecclesiastical system honors the Christian ministry as

a divine institution. It is divine as the New Testament. It is divine as the religious sentiment itself. It is divine as the human soul. It was no more devised by man than his constitutional instincts were devised by him. It is a characteristic of the Puritan system to honor the ministry as an exponent of the will of God. But this system is careful to bedizen the ministry with no artificial splendors, that will intercept the clear view of Him whom it was intended to serve. Our system fears to accumulate those titles which flatter vanity and ambition; for a vain man cannot preach with effect, and an ambitious man cannot preside over the church with safety. The epithets Very and Most Reverend, His Holiness, His Grace, Father in God, Head of the Church, are epithets which, like stars, spangle until their effulgence is drowned in the brighter light of the Sun of Righteousness. We fear, also, to multiply the official gradations of the clergy, lest the parade of clerical ranks bedim our view of the Real Head of the Church. All our offices are to be expressive of His inworking. We believe that order is Heaven's first law; that some are and must be greater than the rest; so we think more of the distinctions made by God, than of those made by accidental or capricious votes. He gives to one man especial wisdom; we defer to the wisdom as coming from the Most High. He gives to another man richness of grace; we prize the gift as honoring the Giver. His elect will be *discovered*, not by the decision which a corporation of ecclesiastics may happen to make, but by the tenor of the life which we perceive that they lead, day after day. The structure of our system prompts us to note all worth, to revere God who reveals himself in his elect. We believe in the formal ordination of the clergy; Robert Hall never was ordained, but in his later years, he regretted the omission. John Foster ridiculed the practice of ordaining the clergy, and would not condescend to participate in it. Here he erred; for the rite is an appropriate and an apostolical method of illustrating the idea, that a pastor is called of Heaven to a great work, and is to be acknowledged as a

co-laborer with Christ. But our creed recognizes in ordination no talismanic efficacy, and teaches us to value more that daily ordination from God, which we discover in the devout life of his ministers, and which is the substance, while the other is but an appropriate form.

It has been objected to our church order, that one of our pastors has as much authority over his people as a pastor has anywhere. He has authority among those who witness his good works, which ought to be revered as prompted of Heaven; he has influence over men who know of his comprehensive views and large heart, which illustrate the generousness of his Redeemer; he has power, for his character is power, and the tendency of our system is to develop and to reveal personal merit; and this personal merit, as it cometh down from above, is the great ordination of which the outward ceremony is but a fitting shadow. It has been further objected, that we, as well as other churches, have an order of bishops, superior to the common clergy. But we have none made by artificial enactment, or human manœuvre. If the aptitudes of our system be regarded, our bishops are those whose learning and meekness and zeal and wise counsels and unspotted life have raised them to their chairs; and their chairs hold out as long as these good qualities last, and no longer. Whenever and wherever we have men deserving especial reverence, then and there, if the capabilities of our church system be filled out, we have bishops, consecrated by Him who gave the virtues which we revere. They have a divine authority, flowing through its normal channels. The bishopric of one man may be confined to one topic, that of another man to a different theme; here it may be developed in scientific discussion, there in practical wisdom; by one man it may be retained many years, by another occasionally for a few months. Nathan Strong was a bishop in sterling sense; Jeremiah Hallock was a bishop in simple-hearted piety; Timothy Dwight, in the education of youth; Samuel Worcester, in the cause of

Missions. It is the genius of our system, to detect that bishopric which the laws of God in nature and in grace have instituted, and to revere it more than all conventional dignities, and thus to honor the Providence which bestows upon men gifts differing as the stars differ. It was their virtues and endowments, rather than their superiority in office, that distinguished Peter and John from their fellow ministers; so has it been with all successors of the Apostles.

We have heard it again objected, that in fact, though not in form, we have ruling elders in every church. But we reply, that they are daily appointed of Heaven and not by human votes cast once for all. These adventitious votes do not remain permanent indices of the varying merit that descendeth from God. So far forth as a man is known to have a good judgment, and a pious aim, he will be a ruling elder in a congregational church, unless the historical spirit of that church be thwarted. His eldership comes, or ought to come, day by day from his seen and felt worth. He rules, yet not he, but the grace of God that is in him. If our churches remember the distinctive idea of their polity, they will respect the opinion of a wise man, in office or out of office, rich or poor. It is a reverence not for the man, but for the wisdom that is an expression of heaven. Richard Mather said, that the decision of a council has just as much force, as there is force in the reason for that decision. And on the same principle, it is the aim of our institutions, an aim not fully reached, to clothe our ruling elders whom God has elected unto Christian wisdom, with just as much authority as their varying character deserves, no more, no less. Their office is revered as an index of their merit, and their merit is venerated as an emanation from him, who is to be recognised in all the excellences of his children.

It is objected, on the other hand,—for the complaints against our system are of Protean diversity,—that our ecclesi-

astical regimen is too democratic. It is no more democratic than is the government of Jehovah. It aims to be his government, conformed to the principles which he has exposed in his word and in his works. His laws are intended to permeate our laws. He makes every man responsible to Heaven. He makes every one of his own children a kingly spirit. Is this an unfitting democracy, which exalts a soul to its true elevation, and makes the Monarch of Heaven supreme? What is meant by the charge that Congregationalism is of a levelling tendency? That it levels the character of good men upward, by treating them as the elect, precious? So does the Bible. That it gives to every man a vote in the church? But, if he be fit to remain in such an assembly, he is fit to vote in it. The idea of the church is, that it is composed of the best men, *τῶν ἀρίστων*, and hence it has been often called a moral aristocracy. Can our system be reproached as an unduly levelling system, when its aptitude is to honor the Most High, in paying deference to his children, and in elevating the church even as it is elevated in the doctrine of the atonement. By inspired men this church is denominated "the family of Jehovah,"—"his sons and daughters," "the flock of Christ,"—"he lays down his life for the members of it;" "the bride of Christ,"—he encloses it in his tenderest love; the very body of Christ,—and no man despiseth his own flesh; the temple of God,—He dwelling in it ever. Is it an unbiblical democracy, then, to repose confidence in the peculiar people of the Most High, and listen to the voice of every one of this royal generation? What is meant by the charge, that we give to the masses too much power over the cultivated few? The masses of good men, honored for the praise of Him who chose them in Christ Jesus, who are termed 'the sanctified in Christ Jesus, members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones,'—these men too much honored? The cultivated few, unshielded?—the very persons whom it is the nature of the regenerate masses to

honor! These masses love to substitute the erudite ministry for the gew-gaws of Romanism. Intelligent defenders of the faith!—God is their shield evermore, for he gathers around them the multitude whom he has sanctified. The responsibility of the church to Jehovah is the protection of the clergy. No mere theory is this, no merely ideal representation. Our churches are not without stain. They do not perfectly discriminate between good and ill-desert. But they do illustrate the tendencies of our ecclesiastical freedom. The instances are rare, in which a layman complains of oppression, or a clergyman of injustice. The exceptions are noised abroad, the general rule is apt to be unobserved. It is the characteristic of an untitled multitude, meeting together on terms of equality in one place, for expressing their love of God, to be accommodating, kindly, charitable; and, anomalies apart, for all rules have their deviations, there is more reason to fear that superior minds will have too great, than too little influence over the mass of the faithful. A frequent complaint has been that our laymen pay too great homage to expert metaphysicians and accurate philologists. It is true, that we do not exalt the artificial prerogative of church officers; but we assign to them all the power which the laws of Heaven give them, all the power which instructors can exercise over the public intellect familiar with the Gospel, over the public conscience sensitive to personal responsibility, over the public will intent on obeying Christ as supreme. Our principle is, certainly it ought to be, we do injustice to the very genius of our ecclesiastical regimen unless it be our devout aim, to stimulate the religious enterprise of a minister, so that he may wield a godly influence over discerning men, to discourage him from relying on any dominion that comes from a church clique, or from side-long appliances; on any adventitious lordship, for this lordship endangers his mind and heart as well as the heritage over which he would bear sway. He becomes the abler and the better man, if he be

compelled to rely for influence on the demonstration of the Spirit, and if his power come by the laws of the human soul and of divine grace ; it being then not *his* power, but that of the Holy Ghost.

In the fourth place, the institution of the Church appeals to, and bodies forth, our love of divine truth. Nearness to God endears his word to us. Error will never satisfy the intellect of even unrenewed men. It impoverishes their sensibility also. The truth which they reject has a strange fascination over them. They gaze, and admire, and hate. All along they have fears, perhaps undeveloped to themselves, that the doctrines which they try and pretend to disbelieve are right. They will often resolve never to hear again a teacher of the simple gospel. But they will hear him again, and re-resolve to hear him no more, and then will listen to him anew, and make another vow to absent themselves, but still they come. The moral preferences of regenerate men combine with their religious instincts in clinging around the truth for which the soul was made. These men have felt its power, and therefore believe it; they need no sign-manual to testify that the medicine has a sanative energy. They have tried the medicine, and it has cured them, and they know its genuine virtues. They need no certificate proving that the key will move through the wards of the lock. They have used the key, and it has turned the bolt, and they are sure of its fitness. Loving this truth they long to band themselves together into a society for celebrating it. The church is that society. It honors the reason, judgment, conscience of men ; and the doctrines of the gospel afford the noblest exercise for all our mental powers. It is concerned for the mind of posterity, and therefore stimulates us to search for principles which will be healthful to future generations. It reverences the Bible as the book exactly adapted to the wants of all men in all times ; but the very style of the Bible awakens a curiosity

to make advance in religious knowledge. The church was founded for the honor of him who is the objective truth. Its primitive usages were intended to make the right faith prominent. They rendered meek and unobtrusive service to the truth. The very badges of the church are means of sober instruction. They are not mesmeric charms, but embodiments of reasonable biblical ideas. The outward structure of the church ought to be eloquence itself. The rite of baptism is a lucid exposition of the fact, that we are sinners by nature and need a thorough purifying—a radical transforming of the heart. It is not a mere artificial remembrancer of regeneration, but a vivid portraiture of it, a visible discourse upon it; not a rationalistic discourse, but one which the Spirit of Jehovah has framed and will bless. He is especially present at the baptism. The Lord's Supper is an eloquent exhibition of the doctrine, that we need a costly atonement for sin—that the body broken and the blood shed are essential for the possibility of our escape from penal justice. This ordinance is not a bare mnemonical sign of the atonement, but a clear elucidation of it, a sermon addressed to the eye as well as to the ear; not a rationalistic sermon, but one which the Head of the Church has indited and will honor. He has an especial, a real presence at the sacrament. His truth is consubstantiated with our souls, transubstantiated into us. Our ecclesiastical system has been stigmatised as degrading the sacraments. It does exalt them as edifying portraitures, accompanied with a divine sanction, of doctrines so great that merely articulate language fails to impress them upon the heart. A love of these doctrines is fostered by all the appropriate acts of worship; for worship is not a simple recumbency on velvet cushions, an easy sentimentalism, a gentle movement of the heart's surface, a routine of genuflexions and bows and crosses; it is a manly and solid and severe thing, a stirring of the depths of the soul, a consecrating of the intellect, and feeling, and will to the Most High; it is an outpouring of love not to the letters

that compose the name of Jehovah, but to himself, in the impenetrable depths of his being; and it implies that we pay to him an intelligent homage, that in our finite way we toil to comprehend a portion of the length and breadth of his excellence. A pure church will make the house of God a sanctuary for thought, not display; a temple, where truth reigns in her unveiled majesty, her figure ever foremost, uppermost; all outward observances being like glass, attracting no attention to themselves, but inviting the worshipper to look through them to the doctrine that lies behind them. A spiritual church will introduce few ceremonies, and make them expressive of good sentiment; a multiplicity of forms being like the multiplication of emphatic words, covering the idea which ought to stand up and stand out, through and above all formalities. The incense ascending in graceful wreaths from the Romish altar rises into a cloud, and hides from our view the very truths which we most need to see. The preaching, and the prayers, and the sacraments lose their simple dignity in a service overloaded with ornament, and encompassed with superstitious theories. A well ordered church allows no ceremonial so cumbrous as to indispose the wearied observer for reflecting on the divine mysteries; so protracted as to crowd out the appropriate expositions of sacred writ; so unbending as to preclude the due flexibility and fitness of thought and feeling; so heterogeneous as to prevent a wise unity in the exercises of a single Sabbath. A well-balanced church makes the liturgical services conspire in alluring the worshipper to a study of the truth, and makes the unfolding of the truth a stimulus to the hearty interest in prayer and praise. It commends a large variety of doctrine, and dissuades the preacher from a monotonous reiteration of thoughts as pertinent anywhere as here, at any time as now. It requires him to imitate in his addresses the ever fresh and ever salient style of the divine word; not always to preach in the hortatory way, but sometimes; not always to discuss doctrine, but sometimes; not

to discuss it philosophically always, but only when he can thereby corroborate the faith of his people; not to discuss it philologically always, but only when the words of inspiration may become thereby the more impressive on the heart; to make the epistles of Paul a model for some discourses, and the Psalms of David a model for others; to preach now historically, and then biographically, if abstract statements fail to educate the will of his hearers; to venture on a long sermon, if a full treatment of his theme demand length; to give a political sermon if the godliness of his people need this practical turn; to cast out of the church all species of error, by all appropriate means, as our Saviour expelled from the temple-porch money-changers and market-men, and sheep and oxen; to become all things to all men so that all may be variously trained; the reason strengthened, for what so invigorates the mind as the truth for which it was created; the conscience illumined, for how can we enlighten the moral faculty unless by the doctrines which emanate from the Light of the world; the sensibilities refined, for what influence is so spiritualizing as that growing from the character of God in Christ; the will regulated, for nothing gives life and strength to virtuous principle but the word of Jehovah applied by his Spirit. This was the wisdom and the taste of our fathers in adapting the usages of the church to the exact, diversified, complete illustration of the truth; in exalting the pulpit so that the altar may become the more sacred; identifying the prosperity of the church with the moral culture of its individual members. Our ecclesiastical system depends upon sound doctrine; it cannot flourish unless good and practical thought flourish with it. Of set purpose it sweeps from under the minister a gorgeous ceremonial, on which he might love to lean. With a wise design, it takes from around him an authoritative coterie, who will hold him up when he is unable to stand up. It leaves him to the truth, and the God of truth. His life depends upon his

evangelical sentiment. If he fail to plant his feet upon right doctrine he falls; and there is no redemption for him while in the wrong. It requires that its ministers be men, and thus stimulates them to vigorous thought. Still more does it require that they be masters of the truth and enamored of the truth. It thus illuminates the intellect for the sake of purifying the heart. Our associations of ministers are designed for communion with the divine word. The time given to them is not consumed in adjusting a church machinery, in debates on forms of order, rules of business, in sharpening the forensic acumen, perfecting the tactics of ecclesiastical warfare; but in prayer to God, in examining his doctrine, in the softening, mellowing influences of Christian meditation. Hence, our clergymen are seldom adepts in strategy; but, if they move in the lines drawn out by our church government, they will be men of independent thought, and of religious growth. They have no bands of a national organization holding them together when the truth does not cement them, but they fly apart, unless reciprocally attracted by the principles of the Gospel.

This is said to be the weakness of our ecclesiastical structure; it will not stand of itself; it might endure while the apostles touched the springs of pious thoughtfulness, or while the stern mind of the Puritans bore rule; it might work well if the interest of men in the truth were always fresh; but it cannot outlast the whirl of steamboats and railroads, the fascination of orchestras and operas. It must be a provincial and evanescent polity. So we are told. But wherein we are weak, there our strength lies. We cling to the system which tends to prolong the solemn life of the Puritans and the Apostles. We prefer the church whose body does not move when the soul of it is gone. We choose to be shut up to the faith, and not to succeed if that faith fail. Thus does our interest allure us to our duty. Thus does our success require that we become the more firmly rooted and grounded in right principle; and if we hold out in putting the

truth into the foreground, and all human authority and human formularies into the background, our distinctive polity will last as long as the divine word itself, for which, as a picture, this polity is a fitting frame. For in despite of the entire sinfulness of men, the substance of the Gospel will arouse them, and if enforced by his grace, will subdue them. The church founded upon the simple Gospel is built upon a rock, and the constitution of the soul is predestined to come up for its defence. That ecclesiastical structure which sets off this truth to the best advantage will be prized like Doric architecture, on account of its very simpleness. The adventitious power of a diocesan may drive some men into the sanctuary; the vivid thoughts of the Gospel will draw more. We cannot overawe true minds, for any length of time, by a display of ecclesiastical authority; but they will be overawed by fair exhibitions of God's electing love; his sovereign, more than imperial sway; his justice that is the very archetype of majesty. We cannot long attract men to the temple by a painting of the murder of Abel; but they will feel a deep, though a painful interest, in intellectual, and therefore the more quickening descriptions of the far-reaching tendencies of sin, as illustrated in the fall of Adam, and as the depth of its guilt is measured by a woe never to end. The artistic, operatic intonations of a choir may ravish the auditors with an ecstasy as high as it is evanescent; but the clear proofs of the necessity of an instantaneous regeneration, the honest, earnest entreaty to immediate repentance will give them a healthier and more enduring stimulus. Wise men will tire at last of a splendid pageantry in the house of God. But there is one truth, embracing in itself a rich circle of kindred doctrines, which will ever take hold of men, even when they would if they could escape from it, and the more simply it is presented, so much the firmer is its grapple upon the mind. Those deep laws which the Author of our being has prescribed for our moral action, will ever be unmet, unsatisfied, without a vivid idea of the

atonement sacrifice. It is the Lamb slain, and there is no other name, no ceremony, no official privilege, given under Heaven among men whereby the cravings of their inmost heart can be appeased. Sooner or later, if Christ be lifted up in the sanctuary, he will draw all men unto him. The thoughts involved in his life and his death, are the permanent attractions to his temple; and any rites, forms, order, or etiquette, that are obtruded before these thoughts, will deter men from the worship of him who is a Spirit, and is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth.

In the fifth place, the institution of the Church harmonizes with our desire of uniting a conservatism of the truth with an activity in diffusing it. There is a diseased conservatism, which represses all zeal in disseminating the right faith. There is a kind of religious activity, which overlooks the importance of sound doctrine. One distinctive excellence of the system which our fathers borrowed from the Apostles is, that it moves us to retain the truth inviolate, and also to spread it through the world. It aims to gain these ends, by giving a due influence to an instructed and a pious laity, and the wants of such a laity are themselves conservative of right doctrine. It makes the pastors dependent in the last resort upon their flock. The power of selecting and dismissing a minister rests ultimately with the people. A minister cannot be forced upon them by an outward authority, overriding their own tacit or expressed will. They may bind themselves to certain conditions which afterward they must respect. They may be advised, but cannot, in the final issue, be governed by an ecclesiastical council. If the hungry sheep look up and are not fed, they may obtain another shepherd. No creed can be imposed upon the people, no brother can be excommunicated from their fellowship, more than be introduced into it, not even a new collection of Psalms and Hymns can be substituted for the old, no church scheme can be consummated, without

the individual votes of the people. And the people having this power, are disciplined for its wise use. The adaptations of our ecclesiastical regimen are perverted, unless the laymen, who are the depositaries of this authority, are trained to use it with discretion. Knowing the worth of their souls, they are incited to examine for themselves the truth which is revealed for their study. Feeling their individual responsibility to God for their belief, they are induced to search the Scriptures daily, whether the sermons which they hear be true. Hence, they derive a meditative faith, through grace acting upon them by these means. That is no tenacious faith which is received passively, and comes from a fear of a hierarchy; but that is the masculine belief, which comes of the Holy Ghost in the processes of careful thought and ripe intelligence. That is not *faith* which is transplanted from one mind into another, but that is faith which springs up and takes root, and grows in each individual mind under the dews of heavenly grace. When the clattering of church machinery does not drown the still small voice of truth for the ears of the people, when the brilliancy of an outward ceremonial does not blind their eyes to the meek visage of the Gospel, they learn to hold fast the pure word for its own sake. They are often ill fitted to analyse the scholastic theories of clergymen; but they well know the substance of the Gospel, and this they bind close to them; for it has comforted them at the birth of their children, or at the burial of their dead, or in some nameless peril or woe. They have a complexity of individual interests, and all these interests converge upon the Gospel. Their homely, but lasting, attachments are fastened upon it. When one man is alienated from the right way, the multitude are not; they have no spirit of caste; they are ill-adapted to form a cabal. If the clergy were separate from the people, and independent of them, their clerical profession would expose the adepts in its mysteries to a clannish influence. They would be tempted

to combine with each other, and all to go where a chief man goes. They would be liable to the seducement of a mistaken philosophy, which might have been rebuked by the round-about sense of godly laymen. They would be ensnared by poetical vagaries, which the stern discipline of practical life might have dissipated. Hence, our church system unites the minister with his people in such an interdependence, that he finds their cordial philanthropy flowing up into himself, even as the head is nourished by the heart's warm blood. This philanthropy helps to regulate his speculations, make them true to the wants of the soul, and true to the volume which was adapted of Heaven to these wants. If the clergy were independent of the people, they would often be misguided by partizan influences; and religious parties are in danger of distorting some part of the comprehensive truth. They seize upon an insulated doctrine, magnify it out of its just proportions, and each faction is repelled from the other into some extreme views. The laymen, however, when our polity has its normal influence upon them, are not so easily pushed into sidelong measures. They must perceive some broad, tangible good to be gained, or they will not rally around a turbulent dogmatist. If a false doctrine, or a clannish scheme begin to fascinate the community, every distinct church is a new obstacle, and in the church itself, every distinct member is a new impediment to the proposal, unless the proposal have some palpable and sterling merit. Hence, it is notorious, that when false doctrine has inundated the church, it has flowed in from the clergy, and not from the people; and when the people have been trusted with power commensurate with their spiritual culture, they have stimulated their pastors to a maintenance of the simple truth. Our ecclesiastical system educates the people *for* their responsibilities, and *by* their responsibilities; it honors them in *training* them, and in the *purpose* for which they are trained. It thus gives them a conservative influence, and prompts the clergy to respect that influ-

ence. Accordingly, we find that an immense majority of the churches standing on the republican platform, have retained the evangelical faith; while the larger part of those which have been ruled by a hierarchy, have lapsed into error. A small fraction of the Church of England, with its Calvinistic creed and its skilful apparatus for enforcing it, is designated by the epithet evangelical; while the Congregationalists of England, with all their aversion to œcumenical symbols, are a model of unity in the evangelical belief. If the pastors were to abandon their faith, the people would stand fast upon it. It has been often objected, that among the fifteen hundred and twenty-one churches in the State of Massachusetts, one hundred and seventy-two are Unitarian.* Still, Unitarianism has not flourished so vigorously in this Puritan commonwealth as Deism has flourished under a more concentrated church government; not so extensively as—in the opinion of wise observers—it would have prevailed under any other than our free polity; for if the churches of Massachusetts had been amalgamated into one state confederation, it is supposed that nearly all of them would have gone, where the few dominant spirits had led the way, and the congregationalism of that venerable commonwealth would probably have been—what the Presbyterianism of England now is—penetrated with Socinianism. The gracefulness of Buckminster, the amenity of Greenwood, the sober sense of Ware, the wit of Kirkland, the genius of Channing, the strength of Theophilus Parsons, himself a host, the fame of the University, the princely fortunes of the metropolis, would have carried the churches headlong, unless every church had been trained to stand on

* In the State of Massachusetts are four hundred and seventy-three Unitarian congregational churches, two hundred and fifty Baptist churches, two hundred and fifty-five Methodist, one hundred and seventy-two Unitarian, and three hundred and seventy-one churches of other denominations—Episcopal, Catholic, Presbyterian, &c. Nearly one-third of the churches, then, are orthodox congregational, and nearly half of all the churches in the state unite the orthodox faith with the congregational polity.

its own foothold, and feel its responsibility to God rather than to the dignitaries of the state. The life of the churches in Massachusetts, after the irruption of Unitarianism, when contrasted with the death-like torpor of the Prussian churches after the irruption of Rationalism, affords an indisputable argument for the policy which trusts the conservation of the truth to a free people. It is a note-worthy fact, that those churches of New England, whose congregationalism was the most unshackled, remained the firmest against the Unitarian onset. While ecclesiastics, who had a centralized government, were oscillating or yielding, the Baptists, who stretched Congregationalism into Independency, stood erect in the faith. The late Prof. Edwards, a divine eminent alike for his candor and accuracy, remarked, at the close of an extensive tour: "Throughout all my travels in Europe and in the southern states of our own country, I have never heard the doctrines of total depravity, regeneration, atonement, sovereignty, decrees, and eternal punishment, proclaimed in so pungent and uncompromising a style, as I have ordinarily heard them among the congregationalists of our north-eastern states."

The world has heard of New England divinity; and the aim of this divinity has been, as its result has been, to maintain and to perpetuate a consistent Calvinism. Certain technical terms it has exchanged for others more strictly English. It has introduced some sharp distinctions where the words had been vague; but the substance of it is the old idea, which, in the main, the fathers mean to express, and around which the minds of good men have always clustered; this idea made more definite, more congruous with the system of which it forms a part. That word *sin*, which had been loosely employed to denote various kinds of evil connected with the transgression of the law, is used by New England divines in a more exact way, and limited to voluntary disobedience. That word *punishment*, which had been indefinitely employed to signify all the sufferings resulting

from sin, is used by New England divines in a more precise sense, and limited to the pains which express the divine and human disapproval of the sufferer's personal transgression. In the more guarded language of Dr. Dwight, the main spirit of his theology would have been sanctioned by Turretin himself; and in the more ambiguous phraseology of Turretin, his real meaning would, in the main, have been sanctioned by Dr. Dwight. The Edwardean definitions were introduced not to subvert the substance, but to conserve the substance of the old Calvinistic faith, and to prolong its influence over the mind of an intelligent community. The people, intent on having a creed that may be preached to them, impatient of any religious system that must be hidden under a set of obscure technical terms, have emboldened, and even required their ministers to make the Edwardean analyses, and thus to portray fully and boldly the ancient faith in a form more consonant with its ruling spirit, and with the idioms of our speech; and this is a sound conservatism. Not a conservatism of words that have changed their meaning—not a conservatism of jargon, which the men who use it do not themselves understand, and for which they wrangle, because they are perplexed about it, but a conservatism of the *truth*, the essence of the same truth to which the sensibilities of good and plain men will ever cling.

When President Edwards promulgated his views, the clergy opposed him. His friends were few, his foes were the vast majority of staid and gentlemanly divines. Had he and they been trained under an authoritative organization of churches, there is little doubt that he would have been summoned before their tribunal, and in its summary action, every member of the court inflaming every other, and all of them in a state altogether unfit for grave deliberation on intricate themes, he would have been condemned, and in all likelihood a new denomination would have been started, and its differences from the old would have been exag-

gerated, and its distance from the old would have been looked upon as a great gulph. But he appealed to the sober men of the country, wherever he could find them; they reflected, each man for himself, and some approved, others doubted; and the more part could see no reason broad enough to warrant their refusal of fellowship with him; and so the truth increased mightily. His friend Hopkins was thus encouraged to show his opinion. The clergy resisted him. He was reasoned against and rhymed against. If he and his enemies had been drilled under a concentrated government of churches, he also, in all likelihood, would have been summoned for trial, and in the haste and heat of his judges, each one igniting the other, and disqualifying the other for a patient study of his analyses, he, too, would have been the cause of a new explosion in the church, one fragment repelling, and repulsed by its antagonist. But he sought out the calm thinkers of the land, fit readers, though few; he sent his volumes to the farmers and the merchants. They read; each man by himself reflected; some received, others disowned his views; and the majority chose to see them discussed, rather than to see the church divided;—and so again, the word of the Lord grew. The essential spirit of Calvinism made a bold stride. The friend of Hopkins, Emmons, was thus emboldened to publish his investigations. He had more clerical friends than either Edwards or Hopkins; but they were less numerous than his opponents; and if a church court could have seized upon him, he would have been crushed under its quick-rolling wheels, and schismatics would have been multiplied, and the denomination would have again been riven asunder. But he knew the patience of the people, their proverbial slowness to condemn any man who *means well*, and is *about* right; and he threw his sermons among them; they looked and pondered; many disbelieved; some approved; but the dominant opinion was, that a sound creed would be preserved by candid thought longer than by judicatories and schisms; and thus again the old faith of the church was yet

more surely imbedded in the heart of the people. Once and again argument has been followed by reply, and this by rejoinder, and these have called out the truth, and called up her friends; and free minded men have rallied around her, and graced her triumph as she has marched forward scorning to drag bound captives in her train. Men who are interested in the truth will be sensitive to its differing phases, and sensitive men are eager to debate, and if multiplied controversies will save the church from rupture, let them come; there is evil commingled with them, but they may deliver us from a sadder evil,—spiritual torpor or violent schism; and as it has been, so it will be, the truth is perpetuated by the free conflict of honest, earnest minds. Ever and anon among men to whom doctrine is presented simple, and who are anxious for its sure stay, there will be an outward commotion; the cataract is troubled; the sides of it are tremulous; we hear a deep rumbling at its base; and after ominous heavings, the crater is opened, and out comes a—pamphlet; and we call that a *discussion*, not a *con-*cussion; and if the pamphlet be a strong one, the people believe that it is strong, and so that matter is settled; and if the pamphlet be a weak one, the people believe it is weak, and so *that* matter is settled. And the *people*—trained to think for themselves—on their bosom it is that every honest thinker may rely; the men and women and children of the churches, incompetent as they may be for his scholastic subtleties, will feel the moral bearing of his arguments, and if this agree with their strong sense, and their Christian sense, they will come to his rescue from the ecclesiastical volcano, and not a hair of his head shall be singed, neither shall so much as the smell of fire pass upon his garments; and he will remain a thinker still; and it is by the pensive thought of erudite men in communion with their God, and in sympathy with his plain-hearted children, that the faith once delivered to the saints shall continue to be preached. For this faith is not conserved as an Egyptian king is embalmed, lying breathless in his cerements, under a pyramid that holds him safe,

but it is preserved living, in the free air, and amid elements that move. It is the indication of all history in this land, and in every land, that the principles of Biblical science are to be retained in their healthful vigor, and kept free from partizan distortions, by that ecclesiastical regimen which relies on argument rather than human authority, and on the plain sense of men acting, as God has assorted them, with a manly faith in their equal rights, rather than on the irresponsible mastership of a few who are accustomed to hold empire. There is nothing which so intoxicates the mind of the ruler and enfeebles the mind of the ruled, as the domination of a small coterie over a wide-spread ecclesiastical communion.

But the spirit of a pure church is not merely retentive ; it is aggressive also. We have been visited with the charge, that our distinctive polity, while it will hold its own on its own ground, has no power of advancement ; it is not the form for the world-religion, nor even for the religion of our entire land ; it still remains blocked up within a few ice-bound states. This attitude of repose, however, has resulted from a benevolent concession rather than a want of vitality. Because we relied on the noble temper of our neighbors, and voluntarily yielded our denominational interest to theirs, we are said to have made a virtue of our necessity, and to have abstained from our church extension because we were incompetent to carry it forward. These are ungrateful charges. The very fact that our regimen is elastic, and will open itself so as to adopt all appropriate beauties, or will close itself so as to shut out all offensive ornaments, and will bend itself to all tastes which are not bad, and will be pliable enough to encourage all predilections that are good, is enough to prove that it encloses the springs of an onward movement. Its germinal principles give it a progressive life ; for if a man revere the souls of his fellow-men, and feel his responsibility to God for them, and a love of the truth which is their vital strength, he must be earnest in

diffusing this truth in its best forms. He loves the forms, because they aid sound doctrine. He desires to extend the free principles of the church, because they favor a candid and a pure orthodoxy. Our fathers acted out the real feeling which their ecclesiastical system inspired, when they sent preachers to the red man, as soon as they had built churches for themselves, and had scarcely reared their own cottages at the time of their beginning to erect a university for the defence and the dissemination of the gospel; and they established a system of collegiate instruction better fitted for their times than the present system is for our times. Nearly all the colleges of New England were founded expressly for the spread of religious doctrine. The prime necessities of our system require that our schools be well endowed; that they give an impulse to every species of literature, send forth ministers able to instruct intelligent laymen, and to commend the truth to every man's conscience. The same divine,* who was one of the most active in originating the oldest Theological Seminary in the land, was also one of the most active in starting the associated effort for our domestic missions, and was one of the two men who projected the oldest board for foreign missions; the cause of learning and the cause of an aggressive Christianity being identified in his esteem. Two of the same divines† who originated that ancient seminary, were the first to propose our most ancient education society, and one of the most honored pupils of that seminary,‡ stated, a few months before his demise: "I could never have done what I did in the incipient movements of the American Tract Society, nor in the forming of the American Temperance Society, nor in the establishment of the American Sabbath Union, unless I had enjoyed the aid of a popular and unfettered church government, allowing me to combine the agencies of enterprising individuals whenever and wherever I could find them—men accustomed to act for themselves—

* Dr. Samuel Spring. † Drs. Pearson and Morse. ‡ Dr. Justin Edwards.

minute-men, ready for every good work, without waiting for the jarring and warring of church courts." All these benevolent societies are for the extension of truth in its diversified forms; and when the genius of congregationalism hovers over these societies, as they hold their annual jubilee in Boston or New York, she does not exclaim, "These are my jewels," because some of them came from her mines; but she does say, that if her friends, in proportion to their means, are one whit behind the very chiefest of the churches in spurring onward the movement for the world's obedience to the truth, then they are recreant to the primal law of their system; they are the ossified sons of a flexile parent; and while there is impulse in their principles and their history, there is a paralysis only in themselves.

Sixthly, the institution of the Church harmonises with our desire for our intellectual, æsthetic, moral, and religious improvement. We often hear, that even in our most inaccurate translations of the Bible there is presented a clear view of the evangelical system. Equally true is it, that in the most corrupt forms of the church there is some tendency to gratify our innate love of progress. The Romish communion has elevated the mind of its members above the standard of heathenism. Her Aquinas and Abelard, her Paschal and Bossuet have suggested ideas which would have enlarged the intellect of Plato or Aristotle. The taste of the world has been refined by her lofty Basilicas, her Gregorian chants, and we all bow with reverence before the piety of her Bernards, Anselms and Fenelons. It is a mistake to suppose that all desire of improvement has been crushed out by her compact organization. Still there is danger that whenever honest men, exposed to heterogeneous influences, are brought under a consolidated and extended church-government they will experience frequent checks to their progress in good. There is danger that every individual will be less or more subdued by the fear of advancing farther or faster than

the unit advances, of which unit he feels himself to be but an insignificant fraction. When the *man* sinks under the *polity*, he loses somewhat of his impulse to form his own opinions, and is sometimes persuaded to abnegate the right of private judgment. He sacrifices the freshness and vitality of his conceptions to the idea, often romantic and fascinating, of the one church absorbing all its members. He is tempted to aggrandize the stereotyped creed of a human tribunal, above the ever living Word. The love of improvement is fostered by nothing more than freedom from artificial restraint. This freedom is the element in which the soul was destined to move. He thinks well, who thinks as God inclines him.

It has been objected, that while the desire of intellectual progress may be gratified by the ecclesiastical system of the Pilgrims, the taste is neglected by it. The commissioners of Charles II. uttered an oft repeated complaint when they said of the churches of Massachusetts, that "their way of government is Commonwealth-like; their way of worship is rude, and called Congregational." We own that careless preachers may give to our ceremonies an appearance of rudeness. Whoever does so, however, himself wants sensibility, not the material, for a graceful worship. Destitute of a rubric, ministers may deviate into offensive peculiarities of style, and hence arises a new motive for them to cultivate their sense of propriety and beauty, but the Congregational worship may and should be conformed to the canons of the most exact taste. In its freeness lies its capability of gratifying our love of æsthetic culture. The paintings of Raphael do not adorn our temples; but the august doctrines of which the canvas gives but a faint outline, may be pictured forth with a fulness and variety which would refine the character of the most delicate artist, and which are excluded by the pericope and the liturgy from what are called the more elegant churches. The statues of Canova and Thorwaldsen do not ornament the niches in our sanctuaries, but

by the rich thoughts expressed with comely phrase in our Psalms and Hymns, and in the sermons of such men as Bates and Howe, the genius of the most cunning sculptor may be quickened; and these thoughts will do more than a cathedral in refining the taste of worshippers. The plain announcement of a district prayer-meeting where the God of truth is to be supplicated, educates a sensibility to the fit and the noble, better than it can be trained by swinging censers or marble altars. Our church covenants have been stigmatized as inexpressive and crude; but when properly composed and read they are eloquent symbols of Christian charity and care. Our communion service has been represented as bald and unattractive; but its very simplicity is eloquence; the modesty of its outward forms makes men sensitive to inward beauty; and while sitting in silence with the consecrated bread in his hand, the communicant gains a clearer idea of the grandeur of truth, than he would ever gain from the disquieting ceremonies of a more showy religion. We learn the delicacy of Christian themes by such external observances as subject matter to mind, and are so chaste and suggestive as to raise the attention above them to the truths which they eloquently signify. He who cherishes an intelligent love for comprehensive doctrine, is prepared to delight in all beauty; and he who exhibits the truth in forms which most clearly set forth and show out its own sublimity, cultivates therein a taste for all that is symmetrical and grand. Such a careful discipline in the divine word as our church services allow us to give, nurtures a reverent spirit; and such unobtrusive ceremonies as conceal the least and expose the most of those doctrines which awaken reverence, are in the most admirable harmony with the æsthetic laws. It is a vitiated taste that studies to introduce unnatural insignia of the church; and a pure church is, in fact though not in seeming, a kind of university for æsthetic as well as intellectual culture. Much more then is it a school for moral and religious improvement. All our powers and

sensibilities are so connected that the advance of one facilitates the advance of all. As a simple ritual refines the taste, so a simple government purifies the moral feeling. It tends to repress ambition and envy, to elicit a sense of fairness and honor, to nurture a fraternal spirit. The church makes a daily appeal to the conscience, to gratitude for the past, and hope for the future, to all our religious feelings, and aims to make every virtue luminous, shining brighter and brighter unto the perfect day. It does in fact secure a regular growth of right feeling, and thus it breathes into the mind that serenity which results from a consciousness of progress in the highest of all excellence. It facilitates and expedites improvement, by assuring the pious of their being predestinated to improve. There is one grace, in particular, which it is eminently fitted to nurture and I therefore remark :

Seventhly, the institution of the Church appeals to, expresses, and strengthens, the catholic spirit of renewed men. Because they prize their individual responsibility, they rejoice so much the more in their moral oneness with the entire kingdom of God. Their freedom from outward ligaments which restrain spontaneous movement, makes their charity the heartier ; for the peace of men is the more undisturbed when they are not unnaturally tied together. Some divines are fond of describing the visible church as an undivided organism comprehending all visible Christians. But in so far as they amalgamate separate churches into one external organization, they diminish the *number* of true churches ; they lose in extent what they gain in intensity ; and for the sake of an historical genus, they lessen the variety and the opulence of the species. But the Biblical theory is more august ; it represents the ecclesiastical organism as a spiritual one, all obedient men being the body of which Christ is the head, and he and they animated by one soul, and this life-giving-spirit, this Holy Ghost, being also the vital principle of the

church in heaven, cementing them with us in one communion. This moral organism widens our charities, that they take into their embrace all who are embosomed in God's love.

There is a sectarian spirit. It multiplies the outward insignia of a church, and attracts men to a sect by the superficial adornings or the skilful machinery of that sect. But the church system of our fathers and of the apostles, drops the external badges that are not in themselves an edifying species of eloquence, and puts in their place the main principles of the gospel, and these principles are Catholic. A sectarian temper aggrandizes the positive peculiarities of a church, and is tardy in recognising the merits of those who neglect some outward rite, or disown some philosophical theory. But the ecclesiastical creed, which our fathers learned from inspired men, lets its few positive peculiarities fall behind and sink beneath the cardinal doctrines of the Bible. And these doctrines are œcumenical. The fewer artificial rites are associated with them, so much the more readily may they be diffused through the world. A pure church is ample in its benevolence, and is ashamed to contract the charity of its friends, by detruding from its fellowship any good men who utter sibboleth for shibboleth. Here is the grandeur of our communion, that it stands forth large-hearted, grasping the essential truths of Christianity, and inviting to its brotherhood all who love these truths, even if in minor particulars they follow not us. There are churches outnumbering our specific organizations, and excluding from their communion Luther and Zuingli, Whitefield and Wesley, Carey and Fuller, Robinson and Eliot. But our organization, specifically limited, is generically large, and sweeps into itself the pious men of all evangelical sects, adopting as essentially its own disciples, not only the Eliots and the Robinsons, the Fullers and the Careys, the Wesleys and the Whitefields, the Zuingles and the Luthers, but also the Fenelons and the Pascals, the Anselms and the

Bernards. All churches whom God owns are ours, and we are Christ's, if we inspire the generous breath of a living Puritanism. A sectarian will not unite with other denominations in beneficent enterprises, unless his own sect can be repaid for its contributions, by well-counted and well-proportioned gains; so much for so much. But the churches of the Pilgrims have poured out their treasures, and parted with their men—more than jewels—and have consecrated these gifts with their prayers for the noble charities in which they have fraternised with other sects, and have never asked, and have never received, any private emolument meted out as a recompense for their public services. No. It is the honor of our Catholic communion, that she has forgotten her sectarian welfare in her zeal for the general good, and loves her name because it allies her with the whole congregation of the people of God. A sectarian will resist the ingress and the progress of other churches upon territories which he has appropriated to the exclusive benefit of his favorite sect, and will rejoice in “union” only when it is, or promises to be, an amalgamation of other parties in one, and that his own. It must be a “union” all on one side. But a church that aims to be Catholic welcomes all good men, of all names, to do in their own way, on their own soil, or on any soil, all the good which they can do by all fair means which they can use. It reprimands no sect for attempting to live, but only for attempting to take the life of its brethren. It demands of no church that it abandon its ecclesiastical creed, but only that it have a benignant temper toward all the faithful in Christ Jesus. We call heaven and earth to witness, that we rejoice in the welfare of any church whose pure aim is to gather the wanderers from virtue into the congregation of the saints. Our comparative indifference to external rites has been interpreted into a sign of conscious weakness and want of self-respect. It has been reported that we are grown tired and sick of our Congregational platform, and are willing to see it crumble down piece by piece. We can

never flourish, it is said, unless we become more exclusive. Often has it been objected against us, that we are not sectarian enough; that we have no denominational apparatus upon which our zealots can play with ease; that hearers who attend upon our services, and happen to be pleased with our divines, have yet no love for our system *as such*, and escape from it when they leave the repulsive climate of New England; that we do not even retain our own children within our ecclesiastical embrace; that we bring men up to habits of diffusive charity, and this charity eases their escape into other denominations, and some of these denominations insinuate their own spirit into men whom they induce to give up for a party what was educated for mankind, and thus the very spirits once in fellowship with us become alienated from us, and the children are bigoted against their mother. We admit that some of our most vehement opposers are men who have eaten of our bread, and thence derived their strength. Even in the church of Rome are divines who dug up their treasures from our fields. It is not true, however, that our ecclesiastical system is barren of allurements to those whom it has trained. Its very liberality is fitted to attract wise men. They love it because it is not sectarian. They cling to it because it saves its friends from narrow schemes; they toil for it as an antagonist to bigotry; they desire the extension of it as conducive to the spiritual enlargement of its neighbors. We love the generous churches of our fathers, because we love all other churches, and hold the world in our embrace. We venerate the memory of our ancestors, and in our heart of hearts cherish the polity bequeathed to us by men who were better qualified than any uninspired men to detect the adaptations of a church for the structure of society. We adhere to the polity which they recommended to us, because, while certain other polities have become bad masters of their adherents, our system is a good servant. It recognises a broad distinction between a denominational interest and a sectarian zeal. A denominational

interest is a regard for the characteristics of a denomination on account of and in proportion to their real worth ; it cultivates the deeper reverence for the more important excellences ; and it honors all denominations just so far as they exalt the essential truth above incidental theories or notions. But a sectarian zeal is a fe vid attachment to the peculiarities of a sect, whatever the sect may be ; it is more contentious for the minor distinctions of a system than their relative value justifies ; it demands of all differing systems, even if they be right in the main, that they yield their peculiarities while itself yields nothing, their concessions tallying well with its exorbitancy. The records of the past assure us, that our system has been kindly and charitable, has gone about doing good, and has often given up its life for its brethren. So it deserves to live. So—our trust is in the God of our fathers—it will live.

This day are we convened to polish the golden chain that binds us together. From the East and the West are we come, that we may perpetuate and enjoy the Catholic spirit of our communion. We have diversities of opinion among ourselves, but there is no harmony that comes not from variant voices. A true union is of different men. Some of our brethren may be belligerent, as everywhere are persons with a peculiar genius for the church militant. Others of our brethren may prefer a dormant attitude, and shrink from the faintest whispers of a controversy. Let not these two classes separate from each other ; but let the chivalrous impart of their vigor, and let the pacific give of their charity, each to each. Some of our brethren may be young men, predestined to remain young whatever may be their years ; young by nature and younger by practice. Others of our brethren may be old men ; old by original inheritance, superannuated not from the lapse of time, nor of their own free will, but superannuated from their very birth. Let not these two races of Christians repel each other. Let those who are constitutionally safe cleave to the imprudent and

guide them ; and let those who are organically impetuous rally round the lethargic to stimulate them and spur them onward. Some of us may be expert in nothing but loading the ship with ballast. Others of us may be quick in nothing but spreading out the sails. Let neither party leave the ship, because of their differing tact ; lest the party who are eager for progress should be wafted to the shore and there stayed and stranded, and lest the party adverse to movement should overload themselves, and make their progress downward. Our wisdom is to remain together, with a fellow-feeling and in loving kindness toward each other and toward all men. Forgiving those who misinterpret our measures and misjudge our motives, let us illustrate the benevolence of our own communion ; let us develop its power to apprehend and advance the spirit of the gospel ; let us exemplify its salient energies ; let us be more faithful than we have been to its diversified aptitudes for the moral culture of the race in every benevolent scheme ; and, above all,—for without this all effort is fruitless,—let us feel, each man in the depths of his own heart, that all our help is in God ; that without prayer to Him we have no hope ; that all our failures are our own fault, and that all our successes are to the praise of the glory of His grace, to whom as in the days of our fathers, so now and for ever more, be honor, and power, and dominion.

THE MISSION OF CONGREGATIONALISM AT THE WEST.

AN

ADDRESS,

DELIVERED MAY 10, 1854, IN BROOKLYN, N. Y., BEFORE THE

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION,

BY

T. M. POST.

THE MISSION OF CONGREGATIONALISM AT THE WEST.

ADDRESS.

BRETHREN OF THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION:—I attribute my invitation to address you, on this, your first anniversary, to my geographic position. The kind missive of your committee, which reached me beyond the great Father of Waters, I ascribed to a wish on their part to express the national, I may say, continental reach of the sympathy and fraternity of this Union; and to aid this expression I am come.

I suppose, also, I am called here to-day as an outlier towards our frontier; if not of the extreme west of our denomination and country, at least as far towards it as the call of this Union to its annual rendezvous can at present expect a regular response. When the great pathway to the Orient, through the gates of the sunset, shall have been achieved, and the commerce of teas and ideas between London and Pekin shall be expressed and telegraphed through the gorges of the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada, then we may look for our brethren of Oregon and California, with the dust of the golden shore and the spray of the ocean that washes the Spice Islands, fresh on their garments, coming up with a week's whirr across the continent to our yearly convocation. But for this we have to wait, though I believe not long.

At present, those living under my line of longitude may, perhaps, truly be regarded by our denomination as border men, a sort of wardens of the marches; though in no very

distant future, the centre of Congregationalism as well as Anglo-Saxondom on this continent, will, I believe, be a hundred leagues beyond our western horizon. It is only the fact of our nearer vision of the ever-flying frontier, our comparative proximity to where the outer wave of our population, with a flow that never ebbs, dashes on the great wilderness, and each year wins an empire from the waste, that gives whatever of peculiar interest may now attach to utterances from what a decade since was the "far west." Ours is a post of nearer outlook on the genesis of a new world. It is of the relations of our denominational system of faith and order to that world, in its genetic agitation, that in this time and place I interpret it as my call to speak. *Has Congregationalism a mission and sphere amid the creative forces of that world?*

By Congregationalism, I do not mean simply our church polity, or simply our church creed. Each already exists and thrives there, in various ecclesiastic bodies. But I mean our faith wedded to our polity. Is not our faith entitled to whatever advantages of disembarassment and energy would be rendered to it by our polity? and ought not our polity to have its power enhanced in beneficence by blending it with our faith? Is not their combination demanded among the organic powers of this perpetuated new creation? The church of the Pilgrim Fathers, a power so mighty and beneficent in organizing the East, is it a requisite and desirable element in the elaboration of a Christian civilization at the West? Has it an especial adaptation, sphere, or duty there?

This question is proposed in no invidious or exclusive spirit. We are not asking whether as aggressor and combatant, with effort and aspiration after solitary or supreme dominion, Congregationalism is to enter the field of the West. No; nothing like this; nothing in disparagement at all. Not a jot or tittle would I bate of respect for the many noble, gifted, and earnest men of various ecclesiastic

banners, that are now, and for toilsome and weary years have been, laboring there in the name of the Lord. Of such, many sleep in Jesus, in the solemn shadows of the wilderness; but their memory is fragrant through all that land. Many of them toil on in obscurity and penury. But their riches and their record above are such as monarchs might covet; they are men tried and true, with the scars of honorable warfare on them; they bear on their bodies, their toil-worn and thought-worn countenances, their forms bent under life's many burdens, the marks of the Lord Jesus. They are the heroes of many a sore conflict with hardship, and want, and care, and pain, and unattended sickness, and life-long griefs; conflicts unwitnessed, save of God and the angel. Such men I delight to meet with, to preach with, to pray with; I give them my hand and heart; my sympathy; my admiration; my love. Heaven forbid that differences in opinion, which do not divide from Christ, should ever divide me from such men. For such men, under any symbol, I thank God; and would they were a thousand fold more numerous and more successful than they are. Of such, too, I have confidence that they would willingly grant to me the same liberty of denominational opinion and argument which I cheerfully accord to them; and will feel no offence in a freedom in utterance of preferences and convictions, which I am sure their Christian frankness and conscientiousness would lead them in like circumstances to use.

The question I propose to discuss is simply this: Has Congregationalism a work of its own in the social problem of the West? Has she some peculiar adaptation to the wants of that world? Some especial capacities for beneficent action there that constitute to her an imperious duty of the present time? If so, what is that duty? Or, on the other hand, is there some reason why she, of all the Christian sisterhood, is to be excluded from that vast field? why she alone should refuse to accompany her children in their migration westward,

or to extend her institutions as fast and as far as the people may desire ?

I put the question because, in consequence of measures springing primarily from laudable aspirations after Christian unity, Congregationalism has come to be regarded beyond certain degrees of longitude, as an exotic and an intruder ; as if ruled out of the West by some tacit or formal compromise, or excluded from it by some unhappy antipathetic idiosyncrasy. While her sons and daughters have to flee for their lives from the fogs and frosts of the east, she, alas ! can live nowhere else. Her temperament would seem most decidedly antibilious. Beyond a certain line, she has been expected to resign her identity, and submit to a transmutation, or translation—

“ Into something rich and strange ”—

passing by a sort of euthanasia into another ecclesiastic system—similar in creed and worship, and embodying a noble order of Christian men, eminent for intelligence, piety, and power, but widely distinctive in the principles of its polity. The attempted union by compromise or suppression of essential organic principles, has bred manifold disasters ; internal agitation and oppugnancy, convulsions and disruption. Are these disasters necessary ? Different denominations may combine for many objects most beneficently. But is the incorporation of different organic ideas in the same ecclesiastic structure expedient or desirable ? Is it for the peace or power of the church ? Is there anything in the condition of the West that renders it necessary ? Anything forbidding Christian denominations there as elsewhere, pursuing distinctively, with their proper natural force and adaptiveness, their peculiar methods of Christian work ?

To answer these questions fully, would require an analysis of mind and society at the West,—their tendencies, tastes, and

aptitudes,—their action within themselves, and their relation to the general interests of our civilization and Christianity. We should then have to inquire, what characteristics of ecclesiastic order and action this analysis of the West would indicate as requisite to conciliate and mould it? what it needs? what it demands? what it will bear? what will most effectively co-operate with its dominant spirit and ideas? In the third place, we should have to complete our argument with the inquiry, to what extent does the church of the Pilgrim Fathers meet these exigencies of the West? This method of argument we shall aim to pursue; though our present limits will allow us to develop it but imperfectly.

From the first glance at the West, considered by itself, or in its general relation to the kingdom of Christ, springs our main proposition, viz. *The West requires the mightiest forces we can there introduce for the creation of a Christian order.*

All colonial civilizations exhibit this requirement, ours especially. Our republic presents a peculiar blending of the Colonial and Metropolitan in its aspects. The “West,” of which we inquire, is no fixed territory. No map of it is good for more than a year; its boundaries are constantly wavering, ever-receding lines. It is that ever-moving belt of increment, with which our nation is expanding towards the setting sun,—the ever renewed ring of growth on our national tree. The West, therefore, is the part constantly being incorporated with whatever new elements it may bring into our national life,—the part where deadliest injuries and poisonous influences are most readily introduced, and where blossoms of fruit, too, are thickest, and richest, and frailest. It is consequently the place where the vital energy, assimilative, eliminating, and organic, is especially in requisition; the place of ever-fresh peril and promise, and of ever-renewed vital conflict; the “West,” thus, is synonymous with the ever receding battle-ground of our national life.

Again, the “West,” in the shifting map of the world, marks especially the birth-place of empire, I might almost say, the

birth-era; for our "West" is a composite idea of time and place combined. It is that portion of our territory over which the zone of the births of empires is casting its ever-westerling shadow—the ever-drifting natal "Delos" of new nations, following the sun in his flight. Its definition is its plea. A plastic era—a formative zone—a social deep, momentarily crystallizing to the marble and granite of new worlds; it surely needs no argument for the urgent application to it, of the mightiest and most beneficent forces of social order.

This plea of the West, found in its very definition, becomes awful in its force, in view of its relations to the vast problem of American history and civilization. The constant blending of the colonial and metropolitan influences in the life of our empire, presents to us vast perils and vast prizes. The colonies of other nations, as subject dependencies or independent off-shoots, have been separate from themselves. With us they grow immediately upon the main body of the empire, and become constantly incorporate with it. The relation thus established between the colonial and metropolitan elements, constitutes our trial; because all dangers, disorders, and distemperatures incident to the former, are immediately communicated to the latter. It constitutes an advantage as it presents peculiar facilities for combining conservatism with reform, and progress with order. It may blend in union salutary for both, the enthusiasm of novelty with reverence for the old; the sobriety of experience with the daring of adventure; the wisdom of age with the ardor and hopefulness of youth. There is a play of forces and influences thus constantly kept up between the metropolitan and colonial elements, favorable to energy and activity, and generative of that highest kind of power which results from the rare combination of discipline with liberty, and a free life with a strong order. While growth is free and boundless, that whereto and whereon it grows, is fixed strong and deep, a granite peak, the centre of accretion, amid coralline

seas. So, while the metropolitan east furnishes, to a great extent, the organic principle, the plastic mould, and the norm of crystallization, the colonial west, on the other hand, exhibits constantly new exigencies for the application or modification of old ideas and institutions; and the startle of a limitless empiricism amid new scenes, with new material, and in a magnificent and ever-moving theatre. It exhibits a constant necessity of primordial and organic works; compelling minds to look through forms to primal principles, and to pursue principles to their ultimate consequences; and tending to make them bold, energetic, inventive, resourceful, and sagacious. These qualities, through the quick sympathies of national unity, imbue our entire civilization, and impart to the national character the impress of a bold, sagacious, generous, and powerful life.

Colonization, with its novelty and freedom, its emancipation from old ideas and institutions, and its stimulus of new facilities and necessities, was among the mightiest motive forces of ancient civilization. The transfer of the elder Egyptian and Phœnician to the shores of Greece, was a vast step in the history of humanity. Ionia, again, daughter more beautiful of a beautiful mother, presenting to antiquity the first fruits of Grecian Philosophy, Poesy, and Art, attested the benefits of a second transplantation of the "Hellenic" stock to Asia. So of Carthage in reference to "Tyre," and of the Anglo-Saxon race on this continent compared with the aboriginal stock. But in all the above cases, the reaction of the colonial upon the metropolitan civilization was comparatively slow and feeble, because of political and geographic separation. With us it is instantaneous and pervasive, as in a single living organism. Consequently the freedom, energy, bold practical sagacity, and the spirit of reform and adventure of young communities, will, in our case, blend more perfectly with the riper, richer, and more polished culture, the graver and more conservative temperament, and the stronger genius of order in the metro-

politan section. From the combination we may expect a resultant civilization of singular brilliancy and power.

But offset to these advantages, are peculiar dangers: rashness, recklessness, irreverence, presumptuous empiricism; social, religious, and political charlatanism; anarchy, barbarism, infidelity; these are vices that, through constant colonial contact, may infect the nation's life-blood.

To increase these hazards a medley of all nations, kindreds, languages, and civilizations, mingle on our colonial border. This may make the resultant order more composite and complete; but it vastly enhances the difficulties of the formative period, and multiplies the dangers of colonial influence to our civilization and empire. Such are the prizes, and such the perils of our national expansion; and such they must be till we incorporate our belt of the continent. The trial is for stupendous issues; for a resultant social structure more perfect than the earth has hitherto seen, or a ruin that shall fill the darkest cycle of history with the clangor of its conflagration and fall.

Everything then—the work to be done, the exigency of the crisis, and the vastness of the issues—demands of us the mightiest powers for social fusion and assimilation, and for the creation of a Christian civilization that we can introduce into the West. Now then, is or is not our ecclesiastical system one element, at least, in such a force? Has it not already proved in history its aptitudes as the church of a colonial era, showing itself one of the mightiest elaborators of an intelligent and powerful social order? and in the stupendous process of world-building, now going forward in the West, may she not still do good service as a social architect?

To answer these questions, let us first inquire a little more analytically what must be some of the characteristics of an ecclesiastical system that shall have most power to subdue and form to Christian order the western mind? What must be its spirit, method, and organic idea? And then, again,

to what extent does Congregationalism exhibit these characteristics?

1. First, then, in order to be the most effective architect of Christian civilization, the western ecclesiastical system must be one of *genuine and earnest sympathy with liberty, spiritual and civil*. From causes I cannot stop here to detail, but which are obvious to the first glance at our colonial condition and elements, democratic liberty, in church and state, is to the West as its breath of life. No church can acquire great and lasting power that is not, or does not profess to be, in sympathy with this master passion. Aside from all considerations of the morality and the reasonableness of this sentiment, the democratic genius of the West requires it in order to any effective working in its presence.

2. Again, the West requires of a system that claims to meet her wants, that it be an *effective creator and diffuser of a general and commanding Christian intelligence*; that it be a mighty and universal educator, intellectual and moral. By such an instrumentality alone, can a social fusion and unity be effected of its heterogeneous elements. Thus only can the millions be fitted for the work of social architecture which the millions there have to do. By virtue of the democratic prerogative, which there sweeps through the lowest circle, and the democratic spirit which there pervades all things, the million, be they blind, godless, degraded, or the reverse, still are eminently the destined builders of civilization and empire at the West. Beyond all other lands, therefore, just now, the West needs to have its millions pervaded, leavened, and organized, by a profound and universal Christian reason. It, therefore, needs a system, not only most effective to diffuse truth, but to discipline the popular mind to a vigorous and sagacious logic, endue it with a practical, resourceful, and independent understanding, and with clear and profound thought. Such qualities are eminently necessities of western society in the formative era.

3. Again, the West demands a system that shall *attempt to*

master its mind, not through authority or dogmatism, hierarchical prerogative, or synodical edict ; much less through pageant, dumb show, puerile mummery ; but through intrinsic evidence and independent argument addressed to its free reason and conscience. Nowhere is the philosophic method more Cartesian, or the habit of the popular mind more that of direct, bold, practical insight into things themselves. Prescription, formulary, dogma, have been extensively left behind by emigrants to the western wilderness ; as in the ancient world were Patriarchism, Caste, and Priest-rule, by the Orientals in their migration to the occident of that age—Europe.

4. Again, the West requires a church system, *that, in its interior structure and working, develops the greatest power for the attainment of the proper supreme end of a church, viz. the greatest power for giving God's truth its ascendancy over the human mind.* In other words, it requires that system, that, in its interior adjustment, hits the nearest possible that medium between organic unity and authority on the one hand, and individual freedom and activity on the other ; that *most perfectly blends these two opposite forces* in harmonious co-operation for the attainment of the great common end.

The highest power of an organization for a given end, is in that combination that most completely unites for its attainment the forces of Order and Liberty, Progress with Conservatism, Corporate Concert with Individual Responsibility. The Christian church, therefore—an organization, whose end respects what is essentially and eternally free, the individual reason, conscience, and will—must present to the West, in order to subdue it to Christ, a living and not a mere mechanic order ; the unity of free reasons, consciences, and wills, and not of command, compulsion, or fear ; a self-wrought organism, “vital in every part,” and not the force-wrought inertia of dead enginery.

Such are some of the requirements of the West, of a church that is to meet its exigencies. Our next inquiry is, how Congregationalism meets these requirements ? Its harmony

with the democratic spirit of the West, its natural sympathy with liberty of body and soul, and with the bold philosophic method of the western mind, I shall not stop to argue. These are obviously of its very essence; they lie in its definition. Nor need I advocate its claim as an educator of the million. History is her most eloquent advocate in this claim. Freedom, individual responsibility, and activity, are always educators. These, as they attach to our system, are a constant gymnastic of the intellect and conscience, a perpetual discipline of the individual and the multitude to a sagacious, practical, self-regulative reason and will. The tendencies of such a system to establish and maintain a beneficent, powerful, and wise social order, need no argument. Indeed the land in which we meet to-day makes such argument in behalf of Congregationalism nugatory. We are too near the roar of her own ocean. Standing where we are, she can point to the results of centuries of trial; to busy marts, cities of machinery; fields of rich agriculture, a thousand flock-clad hills; a thousand mountain torrents subdued to the service of art; to barren strand and the bleak granite draped with the purple of commerce and glittering with the trophies of genius and the spoils of distant El Dorados; she can point to a thousand spires gleaming through the mountain gorges, to schools, colleges, and universities, dotting the vale and the height; to a land where order is strongest, and liberty is freest, and the majesty of law most awful; a land eminently of intellectual and moral activity and progress, whose millions are living with ideas; a land the mother of noble, gifted, and gentle women, and of heroic, hardy, and powerful men, whose children, in liberal adventure and generous enterprise, or on errands of Christian philanthropy, are on every wave and every shore—pointing to these results of a civilization first planted by her in a clime most ungenial, and pervasively and continuously impressed with the type of her genius, she may well group her monuments around her and be silent.

But how, again, does Congregationalism meet that other demand of the West, for an organization *whose interior structure and working are mightiest for the attainment of the proper supreme end of a church*—the enthronement of God's truth over the human mind, the true evangelization of the millions? To answer this inquiry, we must examine the relations of order and liberty in her system, the adjustment of organic unity with individual life.

And here we find, as we believe, the power and freedom most complete; girt round, disciplined, and regulated by the strongest vital order; an order whose bands are the more mighty because they are little palpable, and resemble electric attraction or the organic forces of light rather than chains of iron. Indeed her order seems to us the very strongest which the nature of Christianity—a religion essentially spiritual and free—admits. The highest power of any organization for a given end, we have defined to be in the most perfect combination possible of liberty with order for its attainment. Let us see how this demand is met by Congregationalism; how these elements blend in her system.

And, 1st, of the element of liberty. This is obviously as perfect as the nature of things admits. There is not simply independency of the state, and of all civil or ecclesiastical authority exterior to the local church, but, interiorly, of all prerogative of hierarchy or class, or of human standards; and of all close orders or successional office, and all power not immediately accountable and returnable to the brotherhood. Each church is free of any and all other churches; each individual, with restrictions essential to the simplest primary organization, of any and all other individuals; each age of all precedent ages; each time of all other times. There is a perfect equality of ecclesiastical franchise, and of the individual reason and conscience. Not that the spirit of the system is anarchical or irreverent. Its aim is to bring the individual reason and conscience constantly into contact with God's word, and the intrinsic and essential reality of

things ; to imbue them constantly with the sentiment of personal responsibility and duty, and make each separate church, each separate time, and each individual mind an independent centre, elaborator, and trier of Christian truth.

Is not the element of liberty therefore perfect? And must not such liberty, unless abused to dissoluteness and anarchy, be a *generator of vast power*? First, as a mighty quickener of mind, bringing dead faiths into perpetual contact with the living word and the living reason of things ; whence dead faith starts to new life, as did the corpse laid in Elisha's tomb from the touch of the prophet's bones? Of power, again, in discovering, elaborating, and enforcing truth? Must it not, moreover, be powerful with a constantly disciplined and widely diffused logic? With a vigorous and partial reason? A quick insight into intrinsic evidence, and a quick sympathy with the thought and feeling of the masses? Strong, again, through the joint sympathy it establishes in each soul, with both God and our brother ; like an electric conductor constantly connecting with both, blending in alliance mutually healthful, genial fellowship with awful adoration ; wedding faith to reason, love to logic, work to worship, a common sense that walks among men to a spiritual-mindedness that dwells in the vision of God ; making Christianity, in brief, like its great author, a constant mediator between earth and heaven.

Must not such liberty be powerful, again, in the *number* of independent and disciplined thinkers it creates and sets to work? Strong in that it trains and summons to the conflict for Christian truth and duty, the million? Every other department of modern society is calling in the million as workers. Christianity must do the same, or fall behind her relative place in the civilization of the age. The great conflict of our times, and at the West especially, is to be fought, not between the ranks and orders, not between principalities and powers battling in mid-sky. The battle, like that seen in the Apocalypse, has been cast down to earth. It is

to be waged man with man, mind with mind, word with word ; not in councils, consistories, chapters, or conclaves, but in each circle, in every walk, amid all work, in every class, and at all firesides through universal society. That system, therefore, that best arms and trains a whole people for the conflict, and practises the popular mind in a Christian logic, is the one in peculiar requisition at this time at the West ; especially in view of the exigencies of the formative era. In that seething caldron of mind, where a mechanical union is fast fermenting into a chemical one, and each individual particle, with its peculiar attractions and antagonisms, is struggling into fresh combinations and a new social order, that system that best arms each individual element with the affinities of truth and love, will insure the most beneficent ultimate combination, and will most effectually eliminate from it superstitions, despotisms, and misbeliefs. Liberty, therefore, as applying itself to the mind of the million, is the mightiest power for the church against spiritual usurpation and error.

The freest church organizations, or those with the least of the hierarchical element clinging to them, can alone encounter successfully that hierarchical despotism that is now projecting its portentous shadows over the West. Freedom alone can fight despotism. Churches trammelled by the still cleaving, though partially broken fetters, are disabled for that battle. In their attempted blows at their foe they are liable to brain themselves by the fragments of their clinging chains. In a simple game of despotism, Rome can have no rival. Hers alone is consistent, and with armory, appliances, and environment of unapproachable infernal completeness. Protestantism must thoroughly purge herself of the accursed thing before she can drive the foe from the land. On her own ground, and in her own circle, Rome is invincible to mortal force. The battle with her is not one of prerogative and prescription, but of principle and of the Divine word ; of liberty with slavery, of inspiration with

tradition, of private judgment with ecclesiastic edict, and of manly and enlightened reason with ignorant and puerile fear. Consistent and complete liberty is therefore the only stable and defensible logical stand-point against unlimited spiritual usurpation, and alone arms nations with that philosophic method by which its sophisms can be baffled.

Again, church liberty is true church power, in that it alone produces an intelligent and vigorous faith. Indeed genuine faith cannot exist at all without a degree of liberty, and just in proportion as liberty is impaired, will faith become spurious, feeble, and timid. True faith, of its very nature, must be consciously intelligent and cognisant of evidence, and this it cannot be unless it is conscious of having freely and fairly inquired. Despotism kills the faith it forces. It can no more produce it than mechanic forces can extract the plant from the earth, or than it can compel a proposition in geometry to be true or false. Perfectly absolute over mind, it annihilates faith; and in proportion as it approaches that hideous consummation, it makes faith imbecile, ignorant, cowardly, and incompetent to wrestle with the epidemic passions and moral distemperatures of the age. The freest faith will, therefore, of its very nature be strongest; and other things being equal, the freest church will be the mightiest religious builder and champion.

Liberty, again, is power in an ecclesiastical system, inasmuch as it is generative of that *progress*, in the development and application of truth, which are requisite to that life, passion, and enthusiasm that are the permanent fountains of power. Passion and enthusiasm feed on mystery, ever opening, ever deepening. They live in an endless vision of dissolving views that are ever passing to aspects deeper, fairer, holier in the everlasting unveiling of immortal truth. True progress, in the Christian system, walks in an ever-lengthening, ever-unfolding perspective of the new, the wonderful, the glorious. God's truth is immutable; but man's stand-point is ever-changing. We are voyaging ever

towards the same starry Heavens. They are awfully and eternally one. But our ever moving position, and ever-deepening insight, opening new aspects, keep up a perpetual excitement and passion of delight. Liberty is power, as it presents the stimulus of this ever-progressive stand-point, through fields of vision momentarily new yet eternally old.

In all the above respects, and many others, church freedom is true church power; and our system, as being eminent in its completeness of liberty, we should anticipate would be eminent in efficiency, and would peculiarly suit the demand of the West for a church order of the highest evangelizing power. But our conclusion waits on the answer to another inquiry, viz. Has Congregationalism the requisite bands of order? Freedom generates energy, excitement, activity, courage. But these are not necessarily power. They may all result in mere blind, idle, disastrous agitation; may waste themselves in dispersion or internal antagonism and convulsion. Liberty without order is weak; its energies spasmodic, sporadic, self-exhaustive, often suicidal; its victories, the achievements of Bastille mobs, strong only to demolish, ineffective to rebuild, and incompetent for persistent systematic labor or conflict. Energy, that it may become power, needs combination, unity, concert. These are to be secured by a wise order. The union of liberty with such order constitutes our ideal of power.

But a general idea of the aims and uses of order is apt to mislead many, when applied to the church. Their minds immediately rush to political analogies, to legislations, judicatures, graded prerogatives, dignities, castes, congresses, confederacies, autocracies, and other arrangements and methods of the kingdoms of this world; and they imagine the order of Christ's kingdom must emulate these. They forget that the ends of these kingdoms are entirely diverse, and that their proper order is the internal arrangement fitted to secure their appropriate ends. They need to be reminded that the aim of a church is not to establish a police or collect and

disburse revenues, systematize commerce and finance, guard person and property, or enforce uniformity of law and right, throughout extensive realms, and accomplish other purposes which require a single and forceful rule over vast territories and multitudes. It seems to escape them, that in essential genius, policy, and intent, the kingdom of our Lord, and those of this world, belong to entirely different circles of ideas; that the one is the rule of visible authority and force, for the protection of material interests; the other that of thought and affection, of truth and love, and in behoof of interests purely spiritual—removed from all force or compulsion by the breadth of a universe, by a difference of being. The attempt to apply the order of one of these kingdoms to the other is a stupendous absurdity, and like all attempted violence on the essential properties and relations of things, cannot fail to breed “all monstrous, all perverse, abominable things,” such as teem through the chaos of middle ecclesiastical history, and find numerous antitypes in the present age.

Let us beware of this error. Let us bear in mind that all government must take form and method from the end it aims at, and the means requisite to that end; and that the great and proper aim of Christ’s kingdom on earth, and, of course, of all church order, is TO SAVE SOULS—to convert and sanctify them; not by authority or compulsion, which in the nature of things have no relation to the end, but *through the truth*. The end is Salvation, the means Truth. An organization departing from this instrumentality, violates the essential genius of church order; departing from this end, it ceases to be a church at all. It may be an Odeon, an Academy, a philosophic, æsthetic, moral, or social institute; but it is no church. A church efficient for this end, is a strong church, however obscure and small; one not thus efficient is feeble, though with millions of men and money, and an organization embracing the intellect and splendor of realms. All interior adjustment, not harmonizing with this

instrumentality and conducing to this end, is alien to the true nature of church order; and whatever power i may confer for other purposes, fails to make it strong *as a church*.

For the proper aims of a church—aims in their nature attainable only through the truth and the spirit—that order is strongest which best secures the general knowledge and ascendancy of the truth; for in doing this, it furnishes to the spirit also its great instrument of influence, and presents moreover the means to that unity of belief, will, and affection, most favorable to the communion of the spirit. It thus tends to insure that avoidance of internal antagonisms, and that unity of practical testimony and moral impression, and that concert of action under the rule of the highest wisdom, that give a church power for the attainment of its end. It thus again establishes the only influences appropriately regulative and directive of spiritual liberty. For the unities of truth and the spirit are the great bands of genuine church-order, and these bands alone may be worn by perfect liberty. Thus in the kingdom of Christ, the mightiest order consists with the most perfect freedom—yea, it requires such freedom.

In establishment of this proposition let us inquire more particularly into the relations of order to liberty in the church. The office of order in relation to liberty in any polity is that of restrainer, regulator, inciter, director; and that with instrumentalities legitimate to the nature and aim of the organization. In the kingdoms of this world, its means are command, laws, constitutions, and, in the final resort, force. But in the kingdom of Christ, a kingdom of truth—the great instrument is truth. In this kingdom order accomplishes its functions through the reason, affections, and free will; by means of enlightenment, persuasion, influence, and the various appliances of truth to the human mind. Thus in the one kingdom order promulgates ordinances, in the other it diffuses ideas. This distinction springs from their diversity of natures. It is also authenticated by Scripture precept and precedent. In the Scripture model of the church, human

authority and force are introduced only in the primal local organization, and there no further than is essential to the simplest form of association among men uniting on common principles and for a common end. Their scope was simply commensurate with the necessities of that end. Between churches, and through the church universal, and, in the profoundest view, in the church local, government was purely moral and intellectual; its great agencies were the truth and the spirit; and that order was strongest, which called into mightiest action those agencies.

Nor do we find anything, in subsequent historic development, requiring a departure from the simplicity of the original model, or changing the requisite conditions and instrumentalities of true church power. Enterprises extending over large territories and times, requiring an extensive finance, and a wide concert and co-operation of Christian men, whether missionary, eleemosynary, or educational, though springing out of Christianity, are not necessarily matters of ecclesiastic order at all. The most effective, indeed, of such enterprises in our times are in no sense measures of church administration, though they are most powerfully carried forward by those churches whose order is freest, most purely that of truth and influence. These enterprises need not, therefore, expand our idea of a church or complicate the question before us.

In the church, therefore, according to both its scriptural type and its essential idea, order has truth for its great agent and instrument. It regulates and directs liberty through the truth; while again liberty is the discoverer and enthroner of truth, the means to its diffusion and power. Thus liberty and order in the Christian system are not antagonistic, but coincident and co-operative—order is directive, rather than restrictive of liberty, regulative and promotive not destructive of it. For her to war on it, is suicidal. She sinks in the grave she prepares for her victim. The strongest church order, then, coheres with the largest liberty.

Even if a perfectly wise and beneficent despotism were the ideal of a strong order, in the first place, we know not where to look for the perfectly wise and beneficent despot below God's throne; and his despotism is, we know, perfect freedom. In the second place, we know that despotism, in this world of ours, tends of its very nature to weakness by corrupting and enfeebling the hand that wields it, and by paralysing, stupifying, and emasculating the minds over which it is exerted.

This principle holds even in kingdoms of this world; order destructive to liberty, enfeebles. Absolutism and autocracy, which at first seem governments strongest of all, are found ultimately the feeblest. They mechanize, and finally kill the life of nations. Such an order is a coat of mail, so rigid, so stringent, so all-covering, that it forbids all growth, and finally all living breath. It stifles what it guards. It may be strong to prevent the excesses of liberty, but at the expense of life and of power. Slavery may cure the license of freedom. But slavery is not power. Death effectually ends all spasm. But death is not power; the man chained hand and foot, shall commit no robbery, excite no mobs, jump off no precipice. Neither shall he build cities, subdue the wilderness, or fight the battles of his country. If you would have the power of life, it is an eternal law you must have its hazards. So it is with liberty, it brings life, but associated with peril. Would you have its blessings, you must accept them with their incidents. Devise never so cunningly, and you shall not escape this necessity, more than you can fly your shadow. God himself has not escaped it in the constitution of man; nor may we expect to do it in the constitution of the church. Seek we for power? we must have life. Seek we for order? we must have truth. Seek we for life and truth? we must have liberty.

Such are the relations of order to liberty in the Christian system, and the relations of both to genuine church power. That polity, that exhibits an order reliant on the truth and

the spirit, and sacredly guards liberty as the medium through which the spirit and the truth are to operate, presents that perfect and harmonious combination and co-operation of order and liberty, that I have predicated as the ideal of the highest strength. That such a polity finds a counterpart in our own, if in any church organism, and that consequently liberty so complete in our system has the requisite bands of order, I will not stop further to argue.

But I will subjoin, that such an order as that I have described—which I will term the *order of liberty*—is the strongest of all, in that very interest where it is most feared and accused, viz. that of organic unity. Liberty is the great elaborator of that unity; for that unity arises from the unity of the truth manifested to different minds, bringing them under the control of common convictions, affections, and purposes. It is a reflection of the aspect of the same gospel, the same Saviour, the same God, in the mind of the brotherhood. The band of true unity is in *oneness of vision*; and this no authority, or force, or dogmatism can produce any more than they can alter the laws of optics. It is by removing lets and hindrances to unobstructed sight (truth being one and the same), that we are most likely to see her as one and the same. Even this means may not immediately and perfectly secure the end; for the visual organ in different men may differ in clearness and power—and there are endless varieties of stand-points, producing endless varieties of aspect of that which is unchangeably the same. But unobstructed sight will secure unity of view, or it will not be secured at all. In order then to produce an organic unity, strong and vital with the truth and the spirit, I would say—Away with all curtains and colored mediums. Place the millions not afar off, with veils of partition and ranks of hierophants between them and the outshining of the divine glory; but let the way to the holy of holies, wrought out by Christ, be open for the approach of all. In the open and direct vision of the same Bible, the same God and Saviour, and the same Holy

Spirit, they shall, with time, become one, even asprayed our Lord in their behalf.

To many minds that prayer strangely starts a world-wide organism, with a vast array of governmental authority and machinery. They forget that the world has already made trial of that type of union in its most consummate and universal form. Hildebrand's idea was its logical and complete development. The result—the world well remembers it—was the union of prisoners denned up in the same dungeon, or of vipers writhing and hissing in the same knot. By its terrible failure, the trial of authority, despotism, and vast organism to effect Christian union, has been fully determined. Freedom alone remains for experiment. She must be our architect of union, or we have none.

On the basis, then, of perfect spiritual liberty alone, I believe, can arise a strong, vital, and durable church order. By liberty I mean individual responsibility, individual inquiry, judgment, and will; individual duty, worship, and prayer. Such liberty brings the human soul immediately before God, surrounds it with the glory of his majesty, the awe and beauty of his truth, and the sweet bands of his love. It places it under the church order of the New Jerusalem, and makes it one with the brotherhood on earth, because it is one with God and the "general assembly of the church of the first born." Liberty, therefore, instead of being the antagonist of order, is its chief creator and conservator. Liberty is a means to truth, and truth is the strength of order. Thus in the kingdom of Christ, liberty, truth, and order appear a glorious trinity in unity, joint elaborators to the church of the mightiest power for the attainment of its great end.

To sum up this branch of our argument, then—The great aim of a church being to save souls, the proper order of a church is that rule and arrangement of it best securing this end. And truth being the great instrument used by the spirit to that end, true church order is that which gives truth the greatest power. But the natural appliances and enforce-

ments of truth are all of influence, none of command or force. They are such as argument, instruction, persuasion, counsel, reproof, rebuke, example, inquiry, thought, prayer.

The order therefore that gives these means and appliances the freest natural play, is strongest for the proposed end. But they have their free scope and full power only in the elements of individual freedom and responsibility, and of equality and fraternity.

Now, various ecclesiastic systems may claim for themselves conformity to the above named conditions of the highest evangelizing power. Nor are we here this day to contest or disparage their claims. We wish simply to present our own system, and inquire into her duties and capacities for the western field. Does not her polity, judged by the principles we have endeavored to establish, give assurance of a peculiar power for diffusing, illustrating, and enforcing Christian truth in that forming world? Does not her completeness of liberty—her rule of authority limited to the primary local organization, or to brief elective and responsible delegations, and blending with the unembarrassed play of intellectual and moral influences between individual disciples, churches, places, and times? Does not her vitality and strength of order? order, all in furtherance and direction of liberty, not in infraction or destruction of it? which is powerful with the immortal forces of reason, conscience, and the spirit of God? which lives by vitalizing the Christian brotherhood, and grows mightier by making it freer?—whose absolutism is the breaking of all chains, whose bands are truth and love, whose architect is freedom, and which alone grows stronger in the light of that presence in which all other authority dissolves, more awful the more the soul comes under the consciousness of the majesty of God? Does not our ecclesiastic system then exhibit that *perfect blending of Order with Liberty*, which I have predicated as the condition of the highest power? And is not power duty? Does it not create a mission?

Our convictions of the power of our system as an evangelizer of heterogeneous and morally chaotic societies, are confirmed by the fact, that it seems to us the one selected by the Divine spirit for a similar office in the primitive ages, and that in a field presenting in greater force the difficulties supposed now to exclude Congregationalism from the West, viz. that melange of nations and civilizations then constituting the Roman as well as the Barbaric world. The polity which accompanied the gospel in its first spread through the diverse races from Hispania to Ethiopia and the Indus, seems to us to have in the main accorded with ours. Below the Holy Spirit and its inspired organs, there was no central board or chain of authority. There was the same liberty and equality of each individual church and individual Christian as with us; the same reliance for order, unity, and purity, on the word and the spirit, and on influence and intercourse personal or epistolary, eleemosynary and advisory. With no pontifical or provincial court for legislation or judicature, no hierarchical succession or self-perpetuated orders, no class prerogatives of discipline, doctrine, and the sacraments, the trust of the church for conservative power was in an ever vitalizing gospel, a living Christian fidelity of argument, persuasion, instruction, and rebuke; in the immortality of reason, conscience, and truth—in a living holy spirit, promised to be with the church, not in the age of Apostles, martyrs, and reformers only, but always; and in a living God that ever watched over his cause and over the human mind.

The order of liberty and equality, established in the primitive Church, seems to have peculiar aptitudes for power in our own age. The Congregational polity, in its rule by the voice of the "many," and in its reliance on the silent inorganic forces of influence, reason, and truth, rather than on visible and formal authority, eminently harmonizes with not only our democratic genius and institutions, but with what is fast becoming the supreme order of modern

society—rule of Public Opinion, or, in other words, of the thought and feeling of the millions. That authority is not strongest in our age which sits on thrones regal or pontific, or wears the livery of caste or rank, or utters its edicts through permanent judicatures of a class or a few, but that which invokes most promptly and wields most potently the opinion of the great brotherhood. Majorities sit sovereign everywhere. The genius of the age enthrones them. Fearful dangers, I distinctly see pressing on their rule. Despotisms the most hideous and deadly, I am aware, may spring from the very bosom of democratic freedom. “I looked,” says Bunyan, “and lo! a way to hell opened by the very gate of heaven.” These dangers we have to meet. They evidently lie in the future pathway of society. And we can meet them only with systems which shall enlighten and purify the masses. But I am not now discussing the expediency or legitimacy of this monarchy of the future. I simply note the fact, that the rule of the majority is the evident destiny of modern society, and that church order, to be most effective, must accord with it. It must hold not of the one or the few above, but of the brotherhood below. Antæus-like, to retain vigor, it must touch the common earth. It must spring from the great conscious bosom of humanity. It must be kept vital by the heart-beat of the million. The judgment of the Autocrat of all the Russias would not in our times weigh against the verdict of a common, honest Anglo-Saxon jury. Power of long tenure holding from above, tends not only to corruption, but to decay of moral authority also, because of its divorce from the common mind. The decision of a class, or order, or of any body of men not freely and freshly chosen by the brotherhood, on few questions will have more force, and on most, less than that of the same number of common men; in almost all cases, far less than that voice of the “*many*” which Paul relied on to bring the obdurate and incestuous Corinthian to repentance. No rule can be strong in our age that does not arm itself

with this voice of the "many"—the prerogative of public opinion. But no government can wield that prerogative, in which there is not the freest play of intellectual and moral influence, and which is not immediately or with few media, representative of popular sentiment and will. Our church polity, as eminently corresponding to these requisites, must carry with it, in this age, in its internal discipline, and in its general action and influence on society, a peculiar moral power—such power especially, as is now requisite to master the Western mind.

Why then, it may be asked, with all these presumptions in her favor, from analyses of herself and of the West, from the example of inspired periods, the experience of the past, and the genius of the present—why, in view of all these, shall Congregationalism be forbidden to extend herself like other denominations Westward? Is experience at the West against her? No denominations there have prospered more than those with principles and forms of polity corresponding in the main with hers; the Baptist for instance, at this time with its various divisions the most numerous sect in the Mississippi Valley. "But why," it may be urged, "has not Congregationalism itself spread more rapidly there?" The wonder is that, in the circumstances of its history, it has spread at all. Till within a few years since, her own policy for half a century had been not unreasonably regarded as a confession of judgment against herself—a self-exclusion from that region. A sort of compromise seems to have been supposed to forbid the assertion of her distinctive individuality beyond certain lines of longitude. She became in consequence a mere local arrangement, a glebe polity, an accident of time, place, and a certain phase of civilization; not a matter of essential and enduring principle at all. This relation of compromise or union with a body she justly loved and admired, but with organic principles widely variant, reacted on the churches and theological schools in the land already peculiarly her own. It neutralized her denominational spirit, took away

her self-appreciation, and silenced her pulpit and her lecture-room on the subject of church polity. Her seminaries were careful of offending against the "compromise," by teaching any distinctive ecclesiastical order; her advocates were often pursued by herself with disfavor as pragmatists and narrow sectarists. Thus she became first silent, then indifferent, and gradually even ignorant, in regard to her own principles of polity. Her emigrant sons of course were taught nothing on the subject. And why should they be, since they were, as a fixed rule, to abandon her for another system immediately on passing certain lines of longitude? And with such preparation, knowing as little why they had been Congregationalists yesterday as why they were to be Presbyterians to-morrow, they moved westward. Is it wonderful that Congregationalism did not thrive vigorously under the auspices of such a policy? Does it not show great vitality in it, that it lived at all? And if any of her emigrant children, from some remaining knowledge and preference of her system, wished to establish a church distinctively of her order in the wilderness, we well remember with how little favor such an enterprise was regarded, East or West. It became at once obnoxious to suspicion as factious, agitational, disorganizing, or as unsound, heretical, ultraist. "For why otherwise," it was urged, "should they disturb the peace of the churches? Why intrude another denomination to divide the Christian body? Why not do as their brethren have done, and enter into ecclesiastical systems prepared and open to secure them, unless fenced out by the consciousness of heresy or of an intolerance of healthful religious order?" Their fellow emigrants from Congregational churches, conscious to themselves of no logical preference for the order they had left behind them, and of no difficulties of principle or of expediency in entering into another assuming to stand in its stead, having themselves yielded to the supposed necessity of their position, could not appreciate the preferences or principles of those not thus yielding. The course of such

seemed to them captious, aggressive, factious, and as implying censure on themselves. It was thus not strange, nor evincive, perhaps, of conscious uncharitableness, but a natural consequence, that those from Congregational churches in the East became often severest in denunciation of the assertion of a distinctive Congregationalism at the West. It was the natural ultimate fruit of an ecclesiastical compromise, framed by great and good men, and with important resulting benefits, but which wrought evil because it overlooked essential diversities in principles of church order. Churches distinctively Congregational were, in consequence of the above-named causes, for the most part isolated and weak, with no press and no organ, girt round and overlaid by vast and powerful systems with well furnished appliances for self-advocacy and self-extension. Is it any wonder they were misunderstood and misrepresented, first at the West, and then, of consequence, at the East? that the ear of the mother land was pre-occupied, and her affections and confidence foreclosed against them? And was it wonderful that such churches, feeling misconceived by their neighbors and excluded from the sympathies of their mother land because of adherence to her own principles, without kindly counsel or strengthening fellowship, should have often withered away? or surviving, should have had their life disastrously perturbed and enfeebled by the sore trial through which they were passing? It certainly were not strange if, under such influences, they had actually fallen into the fanaticisms, ultraisms, and disorders of which they were accused; especially when it is borne in mind, that, in addition to the above trials, Congregationalism, because of the very fact making strongly in its favor—the fact of its being the most natural form of church order, the one most agreeable to man's instinctive sense of spiritual liberty and equality, and to the genius of our age and country—was the system into which the wrecks and débris and insurgent elements of other systems would naturally fall and thus she was compelled to bear the strain of explo-

sive forces she never bred, and the reproach of disorders for which she herself was in no wise responsible. Now add to all the other difficulties of these isolated churches, that they were in a land where everything is chaotic, and all that men revere elsewhere is most irreverently tumbled into the general pell-mell, and all the four winds of thought and passion, political, ecclesiastical, sectional, national, philosophical, are battling for mastery on the great deep, and we shall hardly be surprised that Congregationalism has not spread faster or shone purer. Still with all the above trials of position and history, Congregationalism at the West needs no deprecatory plea. In intelligence, zeal, energy, and influence, in purity of doctrine and life, in charities and good works, and success in saving men, the Congregational churches as a body, with all drawbacks and defects, need shrink from comparison with no other in the West. They have wrought there already a truly great and noble Christian work. The trial of Congregationalism there, even amid such discouragements, is a triumphant vindication of her claim as an evangelizing and organizing power. Slowness of spread would in the circumstances prove no unmeetness for the West. But recently, since the partial removal of some of the impediments above named, her extension has been signally rapid—the most rapid of any denomination in the North West.

Can we discover, then, brethren, any good reason why our church system should not, with others, extend itself Westward? Why it should stop with the Hudson, the Alleghanies, or the Mississippi? Anything in her constitution or that of the West? Nothing. Anything in her history? In her results in that land where she has wrought alone or pre-eminently from the first—that first pressed by the feet of the Pilgrims? That land is its own witness and monument. Its testimony has gone far as the sun shines. It needs my argument no more than its Manadnock or Mount Washington. There it stands; behold it!

But it is urged, "the West is not New England; it is a

melange of nations." But is not New England also in that melange of nations? And may not her church at least follow her children? But the West is so heterogeneous and chaotic, Congregationalism cannot work there. That is eminently a reason calling her to work there. She is a mighty fuser of diversities, a mighty worker of homogeneity. She is among the most powerful of educators, illuminators, and vitalizers of the millions. Heterogeneousness! It is the very reason for distinct, independent, local organizations, capable of individual, local, and specific appliance; but rendering a vast one, with its inflexible and inapt rigor, impracticable or inoperative, unless through force. It was the manifold adaptiveness of a system like ours, that fitted it to work at first in the heterogeneous mass of the Roman Empire.

But it is urged "other denominations are there before us." True. We are thankful in believing that the various members of the Protestant sisterhood—Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian, &c.—are doing an efficient work there in behalf of the great truths of the Gospel. God grant it may be manifold more abundant than it is. But that were no reason which should ostracize us from all that vast world, that stretches from the base of the New England Peninsula to the Pacific Seas. There is room and demand for us all. If they have been more prompt than we in responding to this demand, let their Christian earnestness stimulate our flagging zeal. If they think it duty to follow their children Westward, it were the more opprobrious we should abandon ours. But it is objected, "the field is preoccupied." Nay, the field is yet, in a great measure, to be created. The "*West*" is yet being born. The wilderness, the waste—is *that* the field, or is the field rather the millions whose earth-shaking tramp hastens thither? Does the organization of a few feeble churches on the borders of the illimitable wild convey a title ecclesiastical to all the nations that are swarming to its occupancy? No. There is to us no quittance of duty,

but rather its more imperious urgency, through our past dilatoriness. Our mission unsatisfied, summons us more loudly to its fulfilment.

Even should our organic extension be small we may accomplish vast benefits, by throwing our principles into the general circulation—benefits even to churches not of our form or name. A church that truly holds up the Pilgrim banner, though it stands alone, shines afar. It stands as a constant representative and suggester of vast and potent truths. Could it simply deposit these truths in the germ of nascent communities and then die, it would be a mighty benefactor. It will have infused a leaven destined to work in coming times, through all the economy of the social and religious world. Much more will it be a power for good, if, as it may be hoped, as a living light it shall pour its perpetual beams on all the future.

“But,” it is insisted, “Congregationalism is not *strong* enough for the West. It may answer well enough in old, organized, methodized, tranquil, and cultivated communities like New England; but the West, with its turbulence and its barbarism, is a leviathan not thus tamed. It requires stronger systems.” Now herein, it strikes us, is something passing strange. Congregationalism was strong enough for the turbulence, the heterogeneousness, the violent and the voluptuous sin, the ruffian and the courtly vice of the ancient world; for Jew, Gentile, Barbarian, Scythian, bond or free; strong enough for dissolute Corinth, volatile Athens, for tumultuary Ephesus, for many-tongued Alexandria, and that vortex of nations, Rome; strong enough for churches gathered from fanatic Judaism and bestial heathenism; strong enough for the sensual Cretan, the passionate Iberian, the versatile Ionian, the haughty Italian, the Syrian sybarite, the migratory borderers of the African and Arabian desert, and the motley millions that fermented around the world’s centres of commerce, luxury, and empire—strong enough for all these, and yet not strong enough for our

American West! Surely our West is a historic marvel! But again, Congregationalism urges her claims on the very ground of the peculiar strength and power of her system; as being pre-eminently strong with the forces of liberty and truth, and a living order? and with sympathy with the spirit of the Age and the genius of the West. Amid other fatal defects of hierarchical churches, is their feebleness for the true ends of a church. *They are not* strong enough for the West.

It evidently then is the mission of Congregationalism—*i. e.* its duty indicated by adaptation and power—to follow fast and far as it can, with its institutions, that zone of new-born empires that forms our constantly westering frontier, till in its movement it joins on the Sierra Nevada, another zone already rising from the Pacific. It is her mission to do this, not in a spirit of sectarian emulation, but as her own best adapted and most effective mode of laboring in furtherance of Christian truth and life. Polity is to be to her simply a means of advancing the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, to be valued merely as subservient to that end, be jealously kept ever in subordination to it, and to be pursued in a spirit of Christian generosity, forbearance, and love. Pursued with measures violative of that spirit or that end, or in any manner destructive of the geniality or charity of Christian life and feeling, any architecture of church polity, though with art and logic never so perfect, even though imported by the hands of angels from the New Jerusalem, were a deformity and a curse—a temple of Baal and not of Jehovah. Thus perverted, the instrument of life brings death. It is another Nehushtan, the Brazen Serpent become an idol. Away with it; dash it to pieces; grind it to powder; trample it under foot; scatter it to the winds. I love liberty much, love her as the angel of truth. I love truth, love her as the bringer of life. Liberty, truth, life—they are a glorious sisterhood. But the beauty of life excelleth. She is ultimate and supreme of the three; yet she may not long abide alone, apart from the inferior twain. And they,

separate from her, like a body, a body without a soul, soon turn to foulness and corruption. While therefore we may never dream long to disjoin them, be life ever uppermost and ultimate in our regard. Let polity be cherished ever solely as a means to life. In all questions that may rise, let it have that place only in our affection and effort, which such a relation to that end requires. Let it ever be contemplated and estimated as before the cross, in the presence of Christ, and in the light of the judgment day. Study and labor for it simply as an instrumentality for converting lost men, and presenting them at last spotless before the Eternal Throne; and to take rank among instrumentalities solely in degree as it is promotive of that supreme aim. Our denominational spirit should ever be like the wisdom that cometh from above, "first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy." It should be warm with fraternal sympathy toward all who wear Christ's image, zealous to co-operate wherever it may with all good men and good works, showing forth the excellency of our system, and silencing evil tongues less by controversy than by life. *Let it trust in the Lord and do good.* And while it has no right to neglect great truths and principles, committed to it of the Lord, as we believe, for the glory of his kingdom, it should ever be jealous of itself, of the color and exaggeration of the selfish principle, lest ecclesiasticism should overtop Christianity. In fine, let it enter on the great moral battle-fields of the West, emblazoning on its banner not "*union first and then liberty,*" nor "*truth first and love afterward,*" but, "**LIBERTY AND UNION, TRUTH WITH LOVE,**" ever of one essence and one life, blending in glorious unity—the fourfold cherubim of God.

Nor is it the mission of Congregationalism at the West to enter upon a scheme of denominational propagandism in fields already occupied, *i. e.* already covered and worked by other evangelical sects. Such fields have already the vital

and saving truth, and whatever excellences may attach to our ecclesiastical system, its propagation in such districts by aggressive measures, and by movements from without, would probably be at such an expense of Christian charity as would hardly be compensated by the gain to Christian liberty. Moreover, if suddenly introduced by external influence and obtruded on those unwonted to it, it would be likely to be misapprehended and disastrously worked. If it is ever beneficently to enter such communities, it must be by development and demand from within, wrought by the gradual and silent influence of great and diffusive principles that must ever go with our civilization and our Christianity in all its forms. Moreover the genius of our system recognises the prerogative of original action as residing in the brotherhood itself; and experience at the West abundantly testifies the manifold mischiefs of clerical intermeddling with the spontaneous action and natural rights of a people in adopting their own form of ecclesiastic self-government.

Fields that are occupied, then, pass we by for the wastes. But by "occupied" I mean actually so, and in the present tense; not prospectively or pretensively, merely in hope, design, ambition, or arrogation. I do not believe in the ecclesiastical tenure of vast territories, by mere prior church organization in some nook or angle of it; as the self-constituted lords of the world formerly assumed to parcel out and appropriate new continents, by hoisting a flag-staff on some lone headland or some desolate strand. I admit no such *right of discovery* applied to the ecclesiastic world, nor do I admit the binding authority of ordinances and arrangements decreed by some first sectarian colony claiming by a sort of *squatter sovereignty* to legislate for vast and vacant regions and the nations that are to fill them, through all coming time. I do not believe in the right or the power of ecclesiastical compromises or arrangements to stipulate and trade off such territories and their future millions, to certain church politics. People in our day will not be likely to submit to

be thus negotiated and bargained over, but to feel that in the matter of their own church government, they belong to no masters.

Nor can we acknowledge in any case the validity of any such exclusive preemption claims on our great commercial cities. They are cosmopolitan in civilization and population, countries or continents condensed in miniature. Their relations of interest and influence too are national. They are the eye, the ear, and tongue of vast sections. They are also the gateways between the East and West, capable, as sad experience testifies, of being converted into the ivory portals of ancient fable, through which wicked and lying phantoms went forth to abuse mankind. Such cities belong to all denominations. Their ecclesiastical representation should be commensurate with that of their commerce and population. No principle of comity or fraternity requires us to respect exclusive claims on such emporiums.

Nor again does the subordination of polity to the interests of Christian life and charity demand that Congregationalists should renounce or veil or compromise their church principles on going Westward, even if co-operating for a time with Christians of a different polity. Nor does it forbid their forming a church of their own choice as soon as they are able to do it. A free, open, manly avowal of their principles, and of their ultimate purpose during the interim, would be best for all parties, and most conducive, in the end, to fraternal union and mutual esteem. The West peculiarly honors frankness. The man who wears his soul in his face, if so be it is in any wise a decent soul, will be more respected and trusted than any trimmer, trim he never so adroitly. But if the Congregationalist shall not be permitted to co-operate with other denominations except on renunciation of his principles, it is clearly his duty to stand aloof. God is served with no falsehood.

The Mission of Congregationalism to the West requires she should indoctrinate her churches in the East in her own

distinctive principles, and instruct her emigrant children to carry them with them in their migration Westward, and in moderation and manliness be ever ready to avow and defend them. She should enjoin on them that they teach them to their children, and incorporate them with the primordial thought of new communities, and that, as far as practicable, they take with them her peculiar institutions, and that always they should bear with them her newspapers and periodicals that may keep up their acquaintance and sympathy with their own denomination. Nor let them despair of fruit, though few, feeble, and isolated. Principles extend more widely than their visible organisms. They will penetrate into organisms not their own, and progressively, though silently, modify and shape them to their own spirit. No system, however sealed and despotic, not even Romanism itself, can entirely withstand the influence of free church principles silently blending and conspiring with the democratic genius of American institutions and the American mind. Let the sons of Congregational churches therefore carry with them the church principles, so dear and costly to their fathers, to the forming world of the West, and cherish them as a beneficent formative element, which shall surely work into the religious and social life of that world; and whether or not finding visible embodiment in their day, destined to work on for blessing, ages after they shall have gone to their reward.

But while instructing her children against forgetfulness or abandonment of her principles, Congregationalism should equally guard them against impatience and aggression in their propagation. Revolutions of principle are ever silent and slow. And not aggression but self-assertion, tranquil, intelligent, consistent, manly self-assertion, gentle though firm, frank though peaceful, is the true duty and policy of Congregationalism at the West. This, with the maintenance of an earnest and self-sacrificing piety, a pure doctrine, a genial charity, and a genuine fraternity, are the essential

elements of a Congregational scheme of church extension at the West. We need not be in haste or fear. The spirit of the age and the general instincts of humanity work with us; as also especially the genius of American civilization and institutions. These all co-operate with us in furtherance of those principles it is our mission as a denomination to assert and diffuse. Above all, we believe we have co-operators in the letter and spirit of Christianity, and in the Holy Ghost. If these latter are for us we need not fear; if not, we ought to rejoice in our failure. Self-manifestation and attraction, not attack, is our true wisdom as well as duty and happiness. Our system is not adapted to sectarian aggression. I hope it never may be. It wants the centralization of power, the unity of policy and administration, requisite to it. Like our civil government it is feeble for offence, strong only by self-assertion and self-culture. It triumphs by fraternity. Its policy is peace.

This union I hail as a measure accordant with this policy, not as a consolidation or concentration of administrative or aggressive power. I hail it as a *union*; as a means of widening the communion of saints; of extending acquaintance, counsel, and succor among ourselves, and of enheartening with conscious fellowship those feeble and isolated, and girt round by vast and alien systems; as a means of comparing the ideas and results of widely scattered and diversified experiences, concerting Christian enterprises, and conferring together on the general interests of Christ's kingdom and their demands on us as a denomination. As a means to these ends, as well as keeping alive an earnest and intelligent interest in the great and beneficent principles that unite us, I welcome this anniversary occasion. It is such an one as any extensive denomination is entitled to in this age of rapid and universal communion in all interests; when thought over continents readily crystallizes into systematic and concerted action; and when the press of vast organisms all around us, threatens to smother everything that has not a degree of, at

least, intellectual and moral centralization. In our wise avoidance of vast representative bodies with powers of legislation and judicature, we have perhaps been too neglectful of the advantages of a wide communion of sympathies and ideas, and of intellectual and moral concert. A union for the above purposes seems conducive to our intelligent and co-operative efficiency, and to our increased beneficence as a denomination; while at the same time it can infringe no church franchise, for it is in no wise an ecclesiastical organization. Such has been its aim and idea. To use it as a force of sectarian agitation or aggression were an abuse as alien from its design, as from the spirit of the system it represents.

From this time and place, memory, running over some twenty years of residence in the West, recurs to many scenes and facts of observation and experience, illustrative of the relations of Congregationalism to the West, and of the principles regulative of its mission there; and also of the need of that sense of fraternal sympathy and encouragement, which the very fact of your meeting and deliberation this day in recognition of the importance of your distinctive principles, is adapted to give. Vividly does there rise before me a little band, that some score of years since used to meet as a Congregational church, in what was then the "far West," farther than California is now—hardly a church of their name within a hundred leagues of them, hardly half a dozen within a quarter's breadth of the continent; and those as isolated from us as if planted in another hemisphere. It seemed as if that feeble and solitary little church must be smothered under the pressure of great organizations, that swathed it round and round with wide and numerous infoldings, and divided it fifteen degrees of longitude from the parent stock. Weak, single, misconceived, misreported, its own feeble utterance drowned in a tumult of rumors against Western Congregationalism, that through the correspondence and organs of other and vast ecclesiastic systems spread to the

Eastern Seas and pre-occupied the ears of our fathers—the mother land, the while looking on it, if at all, with coldness and distrust, as indeed generally on all who, for the love they bore to her principles, dared assert them in institutions beyond certain lines of longitude. Oh, how did that little band long for power to lift its voice above those barriers ecclesiastical, that, higher than the Alleghanies, walled them in from the land of their fathers! What longing was there for a word of sympathy and encouragement from the churches they loved so well! a word assuring them that those churches, for whose order they were asserting the right of distinctive organization in the far West, did not for that act cast out their names as factionists and vexers of Israel. For a long time there was for them no such utterance; there came to them no such voice except singly and in whispers. The ear and the press of the East seemed shut against them, and the little scion seemed cast upon a strange shore to die. But that little band, though feeble, was true. And now scarcely twenty years have elapsed, and though growing slowly and hardily and in the face of manifold discouragements, amid which some of its founders passed to their rest without sight of results, still that little church has lived long enough to see its principles and their visible organisms spread a thousand miles to the Northwest, over magnificent empires many times larger than New England. It may behold this, too, with the consciousness, that to that rich fruitage it has been to no small extent a seminal element. Nor do I believe that in any case a patient, persistent, practical assertion and manifestation of our principles, manly and intrepid though inoffensive and kindly, will be without ultimate beneficent results.

Thus have I spoken as I have been able, brethren, of the relations of Congregationalism to the West. I have aimed to do it as for the glory of Christ, and as in the presence of a higher and vaster congregation; and I am sure I have done it in a spirit of kindness to the entire Christian brother-

hood. Our theme presents us with duty and hope, trials to patience and faith, to our trust in principle and trust in God. In canvassing it, you must bear in mind, as requisite to its right apprehension, that Congregationalism at the West is to a great extent still in the trials of its birth-period and immaturity—a birth period and immaturity amid struggle, irritation, and attack. You must remember that in relation to the previously fixed order of church policy there, the Congregational movement appears almost as a reform, and must encounter the trials of all reforms. Be not surprised if together with genuine and noble spirits, there should, in some instances, be gathered around it the insurgent, intemperate, and revolutionary elements that are prone to hang on the skirts of all change, however beneficent. Their presence need not much discourage or distress us. It is not indicative of intrinsic tendency and ultimate consequence so much as of an infant period. It is incident to the best as well as the worst and wildest schemes of change, and we have to bear the crudities of liberty always if we hope to enjoy its mature and glorious fruitage.

Of you, brethren, who dwell in the old land, the mission of Congregationalism at the West demands, that you follow your exiles there, with your interest and affections, your letters, your newspapers, your counsels, your prayers, and as far as practicable and requisite with material aid to those who are compelled at the same time to build the church, the school-house, and the cabin, in the wilderness; certainly, not to withdraw trust and sympathy because fidelity to your principles of church order may have brought on them the strife of tongues. Believe not all rumors. Try them. Respect your own principles and those who respect them; teach them to your children, your churches, your theological seminaries, and send them with your sons to the West. Especially—and this I say in reference to all classes and interests, and not those ecclesiastical only—cease lionizing renegades, political, moral, or ecclesiastical. Cease worshipping

mere success, irrespective of the question of its mode of attainment. Let New England have done for ever with wandering after all demagogues in church or state, that bring back to the old mother as trophies of success, what are only wages of shame, the bribes for which they have sold her principles.

Use well and wisely, brethren, your influence of metropolitan position. It is mighty, we feel your power—the power of your thought, opinion, and affection. Strong still are the ties that bind us to you. Your exiled sons bear ever a lengthened chain. We wear it by the pictured rocks of Superior, the distant falls of the Missouri, and to the Pacific Seas. We feel your heart beat across a continent. We are of you still, your land of rock and glen, of grim grey cliff and crystal lake, your melancholy pines and lofty solitudes, your glorious mountains and free old solemn sea, oh! they come to us in our dreams! they come with the faces of memory, living brows on which still beats life's storm, and with the mighty spell of many graves—the graves of honored fathers; of brothers that have fallen in their strength, and gentle sisters who sleep in silent beauty on the distant hill-side, and mothers whose holy love still looks out on us, from the green mound in the shadows of the old church or in dells over which the awful mountains keep guard like angels of the resurrection. Oh! from all that magnificent and boundless realm where your wandering brethren and children seek a home, from the mystic springs of the Mississippi and the tropical magnificence of the Southern Gulf to the Dalles of the Oregon and the Alps of Gold—from lone prairie, and forest, and desert, and the roar of mighty streams, and from chambers in cities of the plague—thick as beams of the setting sun, the West rays on you her thought; from hearts and homes past number, weaving the million-threaded web that binds still our lives together. Through these threads, as strings electric, we are acted on and react.

The East, too, is our classic land. Here are our glorious

memories of history. Here the shadows of the sainted, gifted, and heroic dead still linger and still walk. Here are Plymouth Rock, and Bunker's Hill, and the shades of Vernon. The nation's soul comes here on constant pilgrimage. From the solemn and gorgeous savannahs that stretch beyond the "outgoings of evening" and from the margin of seas that lave spicy Cathay, it ever wanders back to the "waves of the bay where the Mayflower lay" and the ocean that murmurs the requiem of heroes, and purpled of old under the battles of liberty to a richer stain than seas that flame with occidental pearl and gold. And who can tell "but he whose heart hath tried," how leaps that heart at looking again, after years of absence, on the stern old mountain land with all its blazonry of history, and memory, and love, scutcheoned on each peak, and strand, and hillside! As, on my return after such years of absence, I have pillowed my head in the thunder couch on its awful mountain pinnacles, where they pierce highest towards heaven, I could not sleep for that I felt the heart of the glorious old mother beating up all night through the granite.

Brethren, the empire of the West—a magnificent Titanic brood—still grows within your shadow. Still the thunder of Faneuil Hall echoes to St. Peter's. Every surge of opinion that dashes upon your shores, rolls on till it winds through the sinuosities of the Nebraska and breaks on the out-flankers of the Rocky Mountains. Yours is still the power of the mother land; use it well, use it promptly. We are fast growing out of your shadow. The new world is fast emerging into light, solemnly and almost as rapidly, as the mountains rose from the primal deep. The structures of that world, whether they are to be a Pandemonium rising like an exhalation from hell-soil, or a foreshadow of the city of God whose beauty shall be seen in the latter day descending from God out of heaven, will soon claim the sky as their own. Be instant, earnest, patient in using well the opportunity of the plastic era. But look not on us with coldness and distrust,

if we grow not exactly in your likeness, if our prairies produce not Adirondacks, or our Mississippis picture not again your Hudsons and Connecticuts. Accord to us somewhat of the freedom of your own great founders. Remember, though principles be the same, the mould of popular mind, the impress of environment, the plastic pressure of circumstance, and the ethnic material are not the same. Wonder not if forms vary, though principles be unchanged.

But, if principles transplanted to other lands shall ever seem to partake somewhat of the softening influences of a more Ionian clime, be it yours to keep up the granite manhood of the old mountain stock. Above all, keep up the old metropolitan heart in strong, healthful, tonic heat. While your sons and brothers are wandering afar to build in new worlds, new empires and civilizations, do you of the homestead keep the ancient family hearthstones bright ; and let the wanderers, as they ever and anon look back from their battle with the wilderness and the waste—let them ever behold the old beacon-lights of the race, still blazing on and blazing on, clear, strong, and jubilant along the Eastern skies.

THE VALIDITY OF NEW ENGLAND ORDINATIONS.

AN

ADDRESS,

DELIVERED MAY 10, 1854, IN BROOKLYN, N. Y., BEFORE THE

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION,

BY

LEONARD BACON.

PREFATORY NOTE.

[THE substance of the following discourse was also delivered on the 17th of May, in the Chapel of Harvard College, as the Dudleian Lecture for 1854. The exordium of the lecture is here subjoined, as explaining the purpose of that foundation, and as describing an example of Christian liberality and forethought worthy to be remembered, and not less worthy to be imitated.]

More than a hundred years ago, a good man, whose hope was in Christ, and who was expecting to depart and be with Christ, desired, as every man with Christian sentiments and aspirations must needs desire, that his usefulness in this world might survive him. His spiritual sense, divinely quickened, had learned to recognise in the outward universe and in his own inward and higher nature, the manifestation of the eternal Power and Godhead. From his childhood he had known the Holy Scriptures; and in those immortal records, glowing from age to age with inextinguishable inspiration, he had found light, strength, and the consciousness of fellowship with God. Searching the Scriptures as the oracles of God, he loved their spiritual Gospel, their doctrine of one Mediator; and his hereditary protest against the superstition and spiritual despotism with which Christianity has been overlaid in so large a portion of the nominally Christian world, became a deep and most religious conviction. Born and nurtured in that iconoclastic New England of other days, he loved the ecclesiastical system for which New England had been planted; and those churches, with the democratic equality of their brotherhood, with the rigorous simplicity of their arrangements, and with the Puritan nakedness of their ritual, were to his filial affection the fairest portion of that catholic visible commonwealth in which Christ is King. With such views as these, desiring to do good to other ages, he made provision for a perpetual series of annual discourses here, revolving in a quadrennial cycle through these four topics: The revelation which God has made of himself to man in nature: The evidence that the same God has made himself known to men by a supernatural revelation recorded in the Scriptures: The errors with which Roman tradition and usurpation have corrupted the knowledge and worship of God: and the vital connexion of the New England churches with that true Catholic church of the living God, in which Christ is present always, even to the end of the world. According to the arrangements instituted by the will of that good man so long ago, I stand in this honored presence to-day "for the maintaining, explaining, and proving the validity of the ordination of ministers or pastors of the churches, and so their administration of the sacraments or ordinances of religion, as the same hath been practised in New England from the first beginning of it, and so continued at this day.

THE VALIDITY OF NEW ENGLAND ORDINATIONS.

ADDRESS.

WE are now assembled in the annual meeting of the American Congregational Union. Those on whom it was incumbent to make arrangements for the succession of meetings connected with the occasion have thought it proper to provide that this meeting shall be opened with a discourse from the presiding officer of the year.

In the choice of a subject, I have been guided in part by considerations of personal convenience. By a special engagement, which I need not explain, my thoughts have been directed of late to an inquiry respecting the vital connexion between the Congregational or New England churches in the United States, and that true Catholic Church of the living God in which Christ is present always to the end of the world. Such a subject has seemed to me to be not unworthy of a serious and careful discussion at the first annual convention of a society which has for its object, in the most comprehensive statement, "the promotion of evangelical knowledge and piety in connexion with Congregational principles of church government." And conscious as I am that the discussion will lack the profound philosophic insight and the classical eloquence which so instructed and delighted us in one of the discourses yesterday, and the affluent beauty of thought and illustration which so charmed us in the other, it relieves me to find that the theme which I have chosen for discussion may be regarded as following in some sort of logical sequence the subjects which have occupied our thoughts in the preceding meetings of the present Convocation.

None will be offended at the synonym, when I speak of

"the New England or Congregational Churches." What is known as Congregationalism in the United States, is the system, religious and ecclesiastical, of the churches which were planted by the Puritan fathers of New England. It is distinguished from the various systems of hierarchical and synodical or classical church-government, by its great principle that every local society of believers for communion in Christian ordinances is, under Christ, a complete and independent church. Precisely the same principle is held, with exemplary tenacity and consistency, by the most numerous body of churches in the United States; yet the Baptists are not called Congregationalists, and the only reason is that they insist upon immersion as the only mode of baptism, and do not recognise the children of believers as having a birthright in the kingdom of Christ. There are others "who profess and call themselves Christians," with various distinctive titles, and who hold as firmly as we do the independence and self-government of local churches, but who are not spoken of as Congregationalists, except with some additional word of explanation; inasmuch as Congregationalism, in the common use of the word, includes also the idea of that theology which has descended from the fathers of New England—a theology freely and boldly argumentative, with no servile deference to any authority but that of the Bible, and yet essentially accordant with the symbolical books of the Reformation and of the Puritan age. The New England Churches, in New England and out of it, are as much agreed in holding what is commonly called "the Evangelical system of theological doctrine, and in baptizing the infant children of believing parents, as they are in asserting their own independent completeness and self-government under Him who is head over all things to the church.

The subject then of this discourse is sufficiently intelligible. Taking for my text the words of an ancient thesis, I propose to examine "the validity of the ordination of ministers or pastors of the churches, and so their administration of

the sacraments or ordinances of religion, as the same hath been practised in New England from the first beginning of it, and so continued at this day."

"The ordination of ministers or pastors of the churches as the same hath been practised in New England from the first beginning of it," is "nothing else but the solemn putting a man into his place and office in the church—being like the installing of a magistrate in the Commonwealth." It is performed by the laying on of hands and prayer, in the full assembly of the church, by whose choice, not without prayer and fasting, the candidate has been called to office. It is accompanied with a formal charge given in the name of Christ, and as from the mouth of God; and with the symbolic right-hand of fellowship given and received as expressing the unity of the Christian Commonwealth, by expressing a recognition of the church and of its new pastor and overseer on the part of other churches present by their officers and representatives, to co-operate in the proceedings. Thousands can testify that "the ordination of ministers or pastors of the churches," with all this primitive simplicity of ritual, is, to an intelligent and religiously thoughtful mind, one of the most impressive of all ecclesiastical solemnities, beautiful in holiness—

"Beyond the pomp that charms the eye,
And rites adorned with gold."

"The administration of the sacraments or ordinances of religion" by pastors and ministers thus ordained, is equally void of liturgical pomp. With pure water only, not with profane salt or spittle, nor with any superstitious charm, these pastors baptize "into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit,"—following in their formula the letter of the New Testament record. At the table where Christ has appointed to meet his disciples, they preside in his name; breaking the bread with blessing, and offering the cup with thanksgiving, in exactest imitation of the Master's own ceremonial as set down in the story of that

night in which he was betrayed. Yet the ministration of these ordinances, as touching in their simplicity as they are sublime in their significance, is not to them their highest function. If this were the chief thing in their ministry they might be mistaken for priests, and might mistake themselves accordingly. But this administration of sacraments is only one of the *incidents* of their office in the Church. Successors of the apostles, so far as any apostolic function could be perpetual, they have learned to say with the Chief of the Apostles, "Christ sent us not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel." Pastors and teachers, bishops or overseers of the flock of God, their office is prophetic rather than priestly, and their chief work is that of dealing directly with the moral and spiritual faculties of men by the ministration of the word of God publicly and from house to house. This is what gives to their office its highest dignity and sanctity, and its hold on the affections and reverence of a free and thoughtful people. The administration of sacraments is not their office, but only an incident of their office; as in the State the function of administering oaths is incidental to the office of a judge.

In regard to the ordination of these pastors there is raised the question of its validity; involving as is supposed the validity of all their consequent administration, and in particular the validity of their administration of the sacraments or ordinances of the religion instituted by Christ. What is meant by those who deny the validity of these ordinations and consequent administrations, when they happen to know their own meaning, is, that the churches of New England, as we call them, are not churches at all—are not a portion of the one visible catholic church of Christ, and have no share in that promise—"Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world." When they deny the validity of these ordinations, they either mean nothing, or they mean that the pastors thus ordained are not Christian pastors. When they deny the validity of the administration of sacrament by these pastors, they either

mean nothing, or they mean that baptism thus administered is not Christian baptism; and that the table at which the Lord's Supper is thus administered is not the table of the Lord.

How then is such a question as this to be decided? The question is, in effect, though not in form, whether these pastors are Christian ministers—whether the flocks they guide and feed, are Christian churches—whether the religion administered by them is the Christian religion—whether Christ is with them—whether the Holy Spirit is with them—whether that word of the world's Redeemer, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," belongs to them. To what tribunal can a question of this nature, concerning so large a portion of those "who profess and call themselves Christians," be carried for a decision? Where is the arbiter? What sort of evidence is pertinent? What are the rules and principles by which we may come to a safe conclusion?

We must not forget that this question, in the view of those who hold the negative—for it is from them that the question originally comes—is by no means a question of mere speculation, interesting only to theologians and to scholars curious in the abstrusities of ecclesiastical lore. On the contrary, it is with them, and from their point of view, an eminently practical question; a question of intense personal interest to every man who desires to be a partaker in the grace and friendship of God. With them it is a question which touches Christianity at a most vital point. On a question like this, when we have to do with those who hold the negative, we cannot reason conclusively from the nature of Christianity; for the fact that they have raised the question, and that it is in their view a question of such moment, is evidence that their conception of the nature of Christianity is too widely different from ours to afford the common premises from which we and they can reach a common conclusion. We cannot refer it to the arbitrament of pope or prelate,

living or dead, or of any council, ancient or modern, national or œcumenical; for whatever veneration they may have for such authorities in relation to such a question, we have none. There is, however, a common arbiter whose authority is acknowledged by them and by us alike. There are common premises from which they and we can set forth in argument together. In the nature of the case, the question is one on which there is no appeal but to the authentic and original records of the Christian religion.

Turning then to those records, we inquire what test they give by which we can determine the validity of ordination. In what circumstances, and under what conditions, does the induction of a pastor into his office in the church, the formal setting apart of a minister to his work, acquire the attribute of validity, and communicate that quality to his subsequent administrations? If the question is so important now, it must have been equally important in the first century. How did the Apostles treat this question of validity? What principles did they announce—what rules and cautions did they give, by which the churches under their personal care might be enabled, in their absence, and after they had gone from among the living, to distinguish validity of ordination from invalidity?

At first sight, it is somewhat suspicious in regard to the nature of the question we have taken in hand—that the New Testament contains no such word as *validity* in connexion with the ordination of ministers or the administration of sacraments—no parallel word or phrase—no hint to show that the idea which that word stands for in these later centuries, had ever occurred to the apostles, or to those whom they personally instructed. But we will not at present insist on this strange silence of the Apostles and their seeming ignorance. I advert to it here, not as giving us any direct argument for the validity of our ordinations, but only for the sake of showing that if we would carry this question to the tribunal of the New Testament, with any hope of ob-

taining a clear decision, we must get it translated, as it were, into some form in which the Apostles and Evangelists—if we could summon them, as Saul at Endor summoned the prophet—would be able to understand it. In other words we must take the question in that more generic form of it which has already been suggested; and then we shall find the Scriptures ready to give us light.

When the validity of our New England ordinations, and consequently the validity of the administration of sacraments in our churches, is denied, the denial means that the pastors thus ordained are not ministers of Christ, or of the Christian religion, but are mere pretenders to that ministry. Here then we have the question in a form in which we can bring it directly within the range of the light that shines from the pages of the New Testament. In the teaching of the Apostles, and of the Christ himself, it is made the duty not of apostles only, or of ministers; not of the learned only, or of the wise and gifted; not of synods only, and ecclesiastical assemblies, but of all Christians alike and individually; nay of all men to whom Christianity is offered, to exercise their judgment in regard to those who profess to be the ministers of God. If we take the Christian Scriptures for our guide, we find that it is the duty of all Christians—nay of all men—to acknowledge Christ's true ministers, and to reject all mere pretenders. On this point at least, our friends who hold forth on every side the invalidity of our ordinations and our sacraments, are in agreement with the Scriptures. Averse as they are to the exercise of private judgment on other points, they are compelled to acknowledge the orderliness and the necessity of those acts of private judgment by which the individual, unfortunately educated in the habit of reading the Scriptures for himself, is to arrive at the conclusion that he has no right of private judgment on religious questions, but is to surrender his conscience to the keeping of the church and of its divinely instituted hierarchy. Their appeal, therefore, against what we regard as the administra-

tion of Christianity in our churches—their argument to show that these pastors are not ministers of Christ, but only pretenders and conscious or unconscious impostors—is not a *concio ad clerum* only, but a *concio ad populum*, level as they suppose to the meanest capacity. They expect that individual hearers and readers—the unlearned as well as the learned—men, women, and children—will understand the argument, and, in the exercise of their judgment on a matter which concerns their salvation, will acknowledge the true ministers of God and reject the pretenders. So far at least, they and the New Testament are agreed. Thus the Apostle John says, “Beloved, believe not every spirit; but try the spirits whether they are of God; for many false prophets are gone out into the world.” Thus the Saviour himself had said before him, “Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.” Thus the church at Ephesus is commended by Him who holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, “I know thy works”—“thou hast tried them which say they are apostles and are not, and hast found them liars.”

What rules then do Christ and his Apostles give us—what principles do they propound, by which we may safely try the Spirits when many false prophets are abroad? By what tests, within the reach and comprehension of ordinary Christians, may a true minister of the Christian religion be distinguished from a mere pretender? [By the same tests, undoubtedly, may the question be decided, whether great religious unions and organizations, bearing the Christian name, and making in some sort a Christian profession, and so calling themselves churches, are to be recognised as belonging to the one holy catholic church, and as having a right to the promise of Christ’s perpetual presence.] The same tests, undoubtedly, by which an individual pretender is detected and exposed, may be applied to bodies of clergy—national, provincial, or sectarian. If the pastors of the New England churches, taken as a body and in their succession and history from

the first settlement of New England to this time, are not Christian ministers—which is implied in the alleged invalidity of their ordination—and if, therefore, all their ministrations are spiritually worthless, and the great religious commonwealth in which they serve is without the pale of the true Christendom, the fact will certainly be made to appear by the application of the tests prescribed in the New Testament. What these tests are, it is not difficult for any reader of the Scriptures to see.

Opening the New Testament at the passage already alluded to, where the Apostle John [1 John iv. 1] warns his readers that many false prophets had gone out into the world—"many antichrists," as he describes them elsewhere in a still more energetic phrase—we see in what way he expects that the true minister of Christianity will be identified, and in what way the mere pretender will be detected. "Believe not every spirit"—every pretender to spiritual gifts or spiritual authority—"but try the spirits whether they are of God." But how can they venture to judge in so difficult a matter? He immediately proceeds to tell them, "Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God." "They," he says [5]—meaning the false prophets or the spiritual pretenders who are not of God—"are of the world, therefore speak they of the world and the world heareth them. We are of God; he that knoweth God heareth us; he that is not of God, heareth not us. Hereby know we the spirit of truth and the spirit of error." What kind of a test is this, by which Christians are to distinguish the true spiritual gifts in the church from the spurious and deceitful? Manifestly, it is not the test of a dead dogmatic formula, but the very different test—at once more rigorous and more liberal—of spiritual sympathies and antipathies. The Apostles and their churches were united in one great spiritual fellowship, by the bond of a common affectionate faith in a

personal and living Saviour. The distinctive and central fact of what they called the Gospel—the great historic reality on which their faith rested; which had moved the depths of their interior being; which had wakened their reverent, earnest, grateful affection; which had kindled within them a new sense of invisible and divine realities, and a new consciousness of spiritual life,—was this, Jesus is the Christ come in human nature, the anointed Redeemer, the Prince and Saviour, the Creative Word, the Eternal Life. I need not stop to explain the reach and grandeur of this fact, to trace out its relations, or to unfold its effects, in the consciousness of the believer quickened by the Holy Spirit. It is enough to say that in this apostle's theory, Christian men whose religious faith and affections centre on the person of Jesus Christ, are competent to know what Christianity is when they hear it uttered from living lips; and he bids them try the spirits by this test: Do they utter themselves as if they had any just notion of the great fact that Jesus is the Christ come in human nature? The quality of the teacher is ascertained by the quality of his teaching—the spirit is known by his utterance—the prophet by his prophecy. John's test for the trial of the spirits is this: Look to the matter of their teaching. The teacher of true Christianity, whose utterances commend him as such to the conscience and to the Christian consciousness, is of God. And on the other hand, the pretender to whatever spiritual gifts or spiritual authority, who does not hold forth a living and loving Christianity, all radiant from the central fact that Jesus is the Messiah, come in human nature,—is not of God.

In the same way, the Apostle Peter defines "false teachers" (2 Pet. ii. 6) by their teaching; they "deny the Lord who redeemed them." He evidently knew no better way of showing that a man is not a Christian minister than by showing that what the man administers is not Christianity. So the Apostle Paul (1 Cor. xii. 3) refers to the

same test for the trial of spiritual gifts and pretensions. Alluding to the ignorance and heathenism from which some of the Corinthian Christians had been converted, he says, "I give you to understand, that no man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus accursed; and that no man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost." Due honor put upon Jesus as the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, and as the author and finisher of our faith, is the characteristic feature of all truly Christian ministrations.

The first test then of a Christian minister, and of his ministrations, is the question whether that which he administers is Christianity. The teacher of true Christianity—of that Christianity which is not mere dogma and tradition, but life and love with Christ for its centre—is a true Christian teacher. The minister whose administration in public worship and ordinances, and in the preaching of the word, is the administration of true and spiritual Christianity, is a Christian minister. And surely the test which, when applied to an individual minister, determines his character as Christian or unchristian, may be applied with equal confidence to a body and succession of ministers. The Scriptures teach us that the question whether they are a body and succession of Christian ministers, is a question of fact, to be determined by inspection—by observing and so ascertaining whether that which they administer is in reality the Christian religion.

But there is another test—or rather another form and application of the test. The Saviour himself, when he warns his disciples to beware of false prophets, who come with fair appearances and pretensions, but who are in reality destroyers, says (Matt. vii. 15-20), "ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" The rich, ripe clusters, pendent from the vine, demonstrate that the living growth which produces them is a genuine vine. You need not ask who planted it. You need not ask whence came the seed or the cutting, from which that

growth began. You are not to doubt whether it is really a vine or only a thorn-bush uncommonly elongated and flourishing, till you have explored the records and traced its pedigree backward some four thousand years to the vineyard which Noah planted after the deluge. "By their fruits ye shall know them." This is substantially the same test with that proposed by the Apostles. The quality of the minister is to be determined by the quality of his administration; the quality of the teacher by the quality of his teaching; the quality of the prophet, by the quality of the message which he brings as from God. What kind of fruit does he bring forth? Try all prophets—all religious teachers—all who profess to administer the word and grace of God—by the tendency and moral effects of their ministry. The genuineness of a ministry is known by its fruits. What better test can there be than this? We know what is the moral tendency of true Christianity, and what are its legitimate effects on individual character and on society. It is the tree of life, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. It is the stream which the prophet saw in his vision, when the waters of Siloe, bursting from their hidden channels, swelled into a river; and flowing along the dreary *wady* toward the sea of Sodom, they changed the desert into beauty, and its scorched barrenness into waving verdure. That which does not produce the effects of Christianity—that which does not work the moral and spiritual changes in which Christianity manifests its nature and its power, is not Christianity; and those who administer it are not Christian ministers.

Briefly then, Christianity, according to its own authentic words, is something which can be identified by the instructed moral sense. If thine eye be single—if the light that is in thee be not darkness—you can know the legitimate fruit of Christian doctrine and Christian institutions, when you see it, as certainly as you know the difference between a thistle and a fig. No doubt there may be individual instances, in

which the application of the test is not absolutely conclusive, because the fruit is not sufficiently developed in the individual. Here and there a convert may be better than the teaching under which he was converted; and even the teacher may not illustrate in his own character the moral effect of his own doctrine. There may be a Judas among the Apostles; and on the other hand, Satan himself may be transformed into an angel of light. But taken on the large scale, the effects and fruits of any religious system are an intelligible and indisputable demonstration of the nature and character of the system itself. That religious system which produces upon individuals and upon society, in a fair field and from age to age, the manifest effects of Christianity—is Christianity, valid and true; and those who administer that system, in its doctrines and in its ritual, are Christian ministers.

Such is the rule given us by the Apostles, and by Christ himself, for the decision of the question now before us. We are to ascertain who are Christian ministers, by ascertaining whether they are in reality ministers of Christ's Gospel; and if there be a question whether the system which they administer is in reality the Christian religion, that question may be answered by ascertaining its results as they lie open to inspection, and as the moral sense, enlightened by the Scriptures, and quickened by the inward grace of God, pronounces them good or evil. Another rule has been proposed, as we all well know—a rule which is thought by some to be not only more convenient but far more safe for general use. Instead of judging the minister by the quality of his ministration, and the ministration by its tendencies as ascertained in its historical results, it is proposed to judge the ministration by the minister, and then to judge the minister by inquiring whether there are adequate external evidences to show that he is in the right line of succession from the Apostles. According to this method, the first question is, *Who ordained him?*—and the next, *Who ordained*

his ordainers?—and, Can his outward vocation and commission to administer the Christian religion be thus traced back through a succession of ordinations to the original promulgators of Christianity? To such a theory of the matter, aside from its intrinsic preposterousness and the contradiction which it offers to the whole nature and genius of Christianity, there are these grave objections.

1. Neither Christ nor any one of his Apostles has in any instance directed churches or individual Christians to inquire after any man's pedigree as a minister of the word of God and of Christian ordinances. Our Lord and his Apostles never tell us that we are to detect a false teacher by inquiring where he got his ordination. No Apostle has ever told us, "ye shall know the false teacher by this, that we have not ordained him or made him a minister." He who is head over all things to the church, has never said, "ye shall know them by their ordination; ye shall know them by their lineage." His rule is—and it shall stand for ever—"ye shall know them by their fruits." And as if for the purpose of guarding us against a notion so mischievous and so unchristian, we have it distinctly upon record, that when his best beloved disciple said to him (Mark ix. 38), "Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and he followeth not us; and we forbade him because he followeth not us,"—his answer was, "Forbid him not, for there is no man who shall do a miracle in my name, that can lightly speak evil of me; for he that is not against us is on our part." That is to say—Whomsoever you find doing my work in the world, or attempting to do it, you need not disclaim him—you need not demand his commission or authority for daring to serve me; inquire only whether he is indeed my friend; see whether he speaks evil of me; see whether he derogates from my authority before you derogate from his; "for he that is not against us," in our great conflict with the world's wickedness and with the powers of darkness, "is for us." Paul too, warning the churches of Galatia (Gal. i. 7, 8) against

those irregular itinerants of the concision—those sectarian and uncatholic teachers—who troubled them, and would pervert the Gospel of Christ, says, not that those teachers have not been properly ordained, nor that they are out of the right line of succession (the very imputation, by the way, which they made against him, and which he did not stoop to deny), but he says, with all the emphasis of his great and earnest soul, “though we, or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be anathema.”

2. But it is another objection to this theory of the subject, that the New Testament does not contain at all that doctrine of ordination on which the theory rests, and which it assumes as a first principle. The doctrine of ordination as it underlies the theory in question, is that a man can be authorized to administer the Gospel, and especially its symbolical ordinances, only by a certain form to which the imposition of the hands of a certain properly qualified functionary is essential; and that in this particular way—by this precise manipulation—there is effected a transmission of powers which were originally given by Christ in that way to the Apostles, and which have thus been *handed* down from the Apostles to certain functionaries at this day. This doctrine of ordination our fathers renounced, and “prayed to be delivered from the snare thereof.” We too renounce it, blessing God for our liberty from that “covenant of works,” and resolving not to be entangled again with that yoke of bondage. We find indeed in the New Testament a custom, a habit, an institute if you please, of the ordination of ministers, whether missionaries or officers in churches, by the *χειροτονία* of the brotherhood and the *χειροθεσία* of the elders; and we accept that institute with all readiness as our fathers did, because it is an authorized as well as a devout and decorous method of inauguration. But the idea that the being of Christianity—the stability, nay, the existence of that church against which the gates of Hades shall never prevail

—is suspended on the attenuated thread of a tactual succession stretching backwards over vast chasms of darkness to the fingers of Peter—still more that our faith in the continued grace of God must fail unless we can trace that thread—is an idea of which the New Testament gives us not even the faintest intimation.

Do we then admit that the churches of New England, and of the same faith and order elsewhere, stand in no vital succession from the Apostles and the churches of the primitive age? Do we admit that our churches, with their administration of Christianity, are not historically identified with that universal church which Jesus of Nazareth began to build upon a rock, taking Simon whose surname was Peter for the first stone in the building? Do we hold, as even some Protestants charge us with holding—that Christ's original church failed, and that the gates of hell prevailed against it through the middle ages, till our fathers founded it again at the Reformation? God forbid! We hold that Christianity has existed in the world without interruption of its historic continuity, ever since its glorious author came to seek and to save the lost. We hold that it has existed not merely in written documents, nor merely as a philosophy or system of propositions, but as a living force in living human hearts—a force propagating itself by vital influences from heart to heart, and from age to age. We hold that it has existed not as a mere sentiment, or feeling of the Divine, in here and there a gifted and meditative mind, nor as a thing unknown and hidden from the search of history, but as a grand historic reality—a subduing, creative, organizing power—a principle of association and fellowship among men as well as of communion between God and human souls. We hold that the history of Christianity in the world is the history of an organizing force and of its effects, and is therefore the history of the church in the true meaning of that word; and that the history of the world from the era of Christ's coming derives its highest significance from its rela-

tion and real subordination to the history of the church. At the Reformation there commenced indeed what we call a new epoch. There was collision and conflict of forces, there was expansion and development, there was a partial separation of mutually repellent elements; but there was not a new church, nor was there any break of historic succession in the administration of the Gospel. As there was a living Christianity before the Reformation, identical in its being with the living Christianity which followed; so there was before the Reformation a true ministry, with which the ministry that followed was connected in a natural succession. Luther and Zuingle, those twin stars of the Reformation, were members of Christ's visible and true Catholic church, and ministers of the word and of Christ's ordinances—known and widely honored as such, before God put them to the work of reforming; nor did they forfeit, by their obedience to his high vocation, their title to be thus known and honored. The Reformation did not make the reformers members of the church Catholic or ministers of Christ, but they began the work, and led in it, because they were already Christ's consecrated ministers, and because the performance of their ministry, while it gave them continually clearer and larger views of the Gospel which they preached, brought them into conflict with superstition, and false doctrine, and spiritual oppression.

So when Christianity was planted on these New England shores, it came hither to strike its roots into the virgin soil, not as a new thing just created and sent down from God, but as the old imperishable Christianity of the Apostles and of Christ himself—a branch or offshoot of the vine which in the old world had already had the growth of sixteen centuries. Often have our hearts swelled as we have been made to think how much of the future—what a freight of destiny—was in the Mayflower, when laden with human households and human loves and hopes and griefs, and resonant with prayer and psalm, she slowly floated on her wintry voyage.

But there is equal sublimity in the thought of all the foregoing history—that was living in the Christian life of the Pilgrim church, when the brethren in that narrow and crowded cabin formed their political compact “in the name of God.” The mingled life of all the Christian centuries was in those lowly and believing hearts. There was the result not only of their personal experiences from the day when first they covenanted with each other that they would walk together as a church in conformity with the principles of the New Testament, “whatever it might cost them”—not only of the studies and teaching, the faith, the devotion, the affection of their beloved and honored pastor—not only of the intellectual and spiritual culture which he and they had received from their own Christian fellowship in the word and the instituted worship and service of God—but of all in the past that had concurred to make them what they were in their religious life and aspirations. The conflicts of the Reformation, the scholastic theology of the middle ages, all the great labors and agonies by which Christianity had lived amid its perils, all the life and growth of the universal church, had contributed to shape their intellectual and spiritual being; and the conjoined effect of all was incorporated with their life as a Christian brotherhood. The sternness of Calvin, the homely heroism of Latimer, the audacity of Luther, the rugged vigor of Wycliffe, had to do with the thinking, the feeling, the praying, the acting, the being of that Pilgrim church; and of each of them, as of a spiritual ancestor, it might be said that something of his life was there. Others of earlier centuries, Anselm, Beda, Augustin, Athanasius, were there. The struggles of great souls from age to age, longing for light and freedom—the unfailing prayer of all the saints,—“thy kingdom come”—the groans of martyrs whose ashes had been cast upon the winds,—all were there, incorporated with the life and beating in the pulses of those living hearts, so humble, so heroic, so full of devotion and of love. The Apostles were there, and those

who died for Christ in Nero's gardens and in the Roman amphitheatre. And more than all, and in a far sublimer sense, Christ was there. His presence was with them as truly as with the disciples of old when he came to them walking on the waves of Galilee. His life that lives in his Church through all the ages of its progress, was in their life. Who will tell us that the one holy Catholic church in 1620 did not include the church of the Mayflower? Who will tell us that Christ was at that moment with James of England and with Buckingham, because Laud was with them, and that Christ was not with Carver, Bradford, and Brewster, and their company, because there was no mitred head among them?

The Christianity, then, which planted itself here in the form of Congregational churches, was in a vital connexion with the Christianity of England, and through that with the Christianity of Europe and of all foregoing ages. Or, to put the fact into the simplest statement of it, the first pastors and teachers of our New England churches—the Wilson and Cotton of Massachusetts, the Hooker and Davenport of Connecticut—had been, before their coming hither, able and faithful ministers of the word of God in England. That they had exercised their ministry in the national church-establishment, and had been canonically ordained by English prelates, is a small matter to insist on here or anywhere. What is more to the point, is, that they were in a historic succession from ministers who went before them, and who had taught and trained them, and had led them to the ministry; that the things which they had heard among many witnesses, the same committed they by special training and instruction to faithful men who were able to teach others also; and that thus the churches of New England, taken as one great religious community, have enjoyed for more than two centuries—and let us hope in God shall still enjoy through untold ages—a true administration of Christ's word and ordinances.

It is not, however, from any outward succession that we deduce our confidence in the validity and genuineness of the administration of Christianity in our churches. On the contrary, from the validity of the administration of the Gospel in our churches, we infer with assurance the reality of the inward and vital connexion between our own New England church history, and the history of the universal church of Christ. To vindicate the validity of these administrations, we appeal not to musty records or doubtful traditions of prelatical consecrations; but to those unquestionable phenomena in which vital and spiritual forces make themselves visible. That these churches are Christian congregations—that the ministers ordained in them, by the lifting up of the hands of the brotherhood, and by the laying on of the hands of the elders, do really administer the Christian religion, is not a matter of doubtful disputation to the intelligence or to the moral sense of men enlightened by the word and spirit of God. “Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus is the Messiah come in human nature, is of God.” “He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son.” “No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Spirit.” Where, this side of heaven, is Jesus the Anointed known and honored as the “Son of God, the Saviour of the world,” if not in the Congregational churches of New England, and in the ministration at their altars? Where, if not in these churches, do sermon and prayer, song and sacrament, continually hold forth, that to the Christ crucified “God hath given a name which is above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow of those in heaven, and those in earth, and those under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus the Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father?” Where, if not in these churches, does spiritual worship utter itself in devout accordance with the doxology of the Apocalypse, “Blessing, and honor, and glory, and power, be unto Him

that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever." And if our church history shows here and there an instance of defection from the Christian truth, let the accusers of our churches tell us, if they can, where Christianity has more effectually demonstrated its own recuperative power, than under our free system, and under what outward form it is more manifest that the church, the body of Christ,

"Vital in every part,
Cannot but by annihilating die."

"By their fruits ye shall know them." If that religion which has been administered in the churches of New England, "from the first beginning of it," is not a genuine and valid Christianity, then may men gather grapes of thorns and figs of thistles. Where, upon earth—where, in all the history of the universal church of Christ, are the legitimate effects of Christianity to be found, if not in the religious history and the present aspect of New England? You may circumnavigate the globe to find a field which the Lord hath blessed above all other lands—a land where the grace of a redeeming God is at this moment exhibiting most impressively its power to renew the face of the earth—and you shall find it not where the apostles toiled and suffered in the ages long ago, but here, among those monumental hills, those smiling villages, those frequent spires, those domestic sanctuaries of love and purity and of Christian faith and worship, those graves—the ancient and the recent—made in immortal hope. If we look back along the line of buried generations, how attractive are the examples of holiness that shine upon us!—the seraphic Edwards, the saintly Brainard, the apostolic Eliot—how many are the treasured names of those who have walked with God, and have followed their Saviour into the unseen glory! Are they to be excluded from the pale of the church catholic in the name of catholicity? The institutions of Congregational New

England—its schools and various arrangements for the universal distribution of knowledge—its seats of science and of theological learning—its provision for the relief of every form of human affliction, so that the deaf hear, the dumb man speaks, the blind see and read, and the unbalanced reason finds its equipoise under the skilful touch of Christ-like gentleness—is there no Christianity in these? The theology which our New England divines are ever hammering into a more rigorous shape of orthodoxy—impute to it what eccentricities and provincialisms you please—the distinctive theology of New England, with its strenuous and unyielding grasp on the Gospel as the revelation of God in Christ reconciling the world to himself—is there no Christianity in this? The developed moral sense of New England, with its abhorrence of oppression and injustice, its impatience of whatever degrades humanity, and its constant aspiration and struggle towards the complete reformation of society—is there in this, whatever of occasional error or excess you may ascribe to it, no yearning and working of a Christian sentiment? The religious sensibility of New England, with its cheerful yet tranquil and holy Sabbaths, with its still reverence in the house of God, with its movements of parochial sympathy—its awakenings and conversions—its experiences so often vindicated as the work of God, by a holy living and a victorious death—is there no Christianity in this? The evangelism of New England, with the grandeur of its enterprises and the affluence of its free contributions from rich and poor, with its pioneers fixing the centres of illumination on the prairies of the Mississippi, and where the mountains slope to the Pacific, with its hallowed graves on many a distant shore, and its living messengers under every temperate or torrid sky, and with its glorious trophies in Asia and the isles—is there no Christianity in this? In the dark, faint hour, when heart and flesh are failing, give me, rather than any formal absolution spoken by priestly lips, or any

viaticum administered by priestly hands, the living faith in Christ that burned in the Pilgrim exiles struggling with want, and winter, and disease, and dying to lie down in hidden graves, and that burns to-day with kindred flame in the Pilgrim missionary, dying amid his swarthy converts under the tropical sunlight, on some lonely isle where the billows break in murmuring music on the coral shore.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE ANNIVERSARY.

THE first anniversary of the *American Congregational Union* was held at the Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, on Wednesday and Thursday, May 10th and 11th, 1854. On the morning of Wednesday, the Union was addressed by Rev. E. A. Park, D.D., of Andover Theological Seminary; and on the afternoon of the same day by Rev. T. M. Post, D.D., of St. Louis, Missouri. On Thursday afternoon the annual meeting for business was held. After an address from Rev. L. Bacon, D.D., the President, the reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were read and adopted. The following persons were elected officers of the Union for the ensuing year.

OFFICERS.

President :—REV. LEONARD BACON, D.D., of New Haven.

Vice Presidents :—HON. BRADFORD R. WOOD, Albany, N. Y.; REV. GEORGE SHEPPARD, D.D., Bangor, Me.; REV. MARK HOPKINS, D.D., Williamstown, Mass.; HON. EMORY WASHBURN, Worcester, Mass.; REV. CHARLES WALKER, D.D., Pittsford, Vt.; HON. ARISTARCHUS CHAMPION, Rochester, N. Y.; REV. H. D. KITCHELL, Detroit, Michigan; REV. T. M. POST, St. Louis, Mo.; REV. EDWARDS A. PARK, D.D., Andover, Mass.; HON. A. M. COLLINS, Hartford, Conn.; REV. O. E. DAGGETT, D.D., Canandaigua, N. Y.; REV. JONA. LEAVITT, D.D., Providence, R. I.; REV. J. M. STURTEVANT, D.D., Jacksonville, Ill.; REV. WILLIAM PATTON, D.D., New York; REV. J. H. LINSLEY, D.D., Greenwich, Conn.; HON. H. B. SPELLMAN, Cleaveland, Ohio; REV. SAMUEL C. BARTLETT, Manchester, N. H.; S. B. GOOKINS, ESQ., Terre Haute, Ind.; REV. T. DWIGHT HUNT, San Francisco, Cal.; REV. THOMAS WICKES, Marietta, Ohio; EDWARD D. HOLTON, ESQ., Milwaukee, Wis.; REV. JULIUS A. REED, Davenport, Iowa; REV. CHARLES BEECHER, Newark, N. J.

Trustees :—REV. T. ATKINSON, REV. H. W. BEECHER, MR. H. C. BOWEN, REV. G. B. CHEEVER, D.D., MR. S. B. CHITTENDEN, MR. JAMES FREELAND, MR. W. C. GILMAN, MR. W. A. HALL, MR. ISRAEL MINOR, REV. R. S. STORRS, JR., REV. J. P. THOMPSON, MR. GEORGE WALKER, MR. O. E. WOOD.

Secretary :—REV. T. ATKINSON.

Treasurer :—MR. ISRAEL MINOR.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Union be tendered to Rev. Drs. PARK, POST, and BACON, for the addresses delivered by them severally before the Union at this its first annual gathering, and that copies of the same be requested with a view to their publication under the direction of the Board of Trustees. [In accordance with this resolution the present volume is issued.]

Rev. R. S. Storrs, Jr., in behalf of the Trustees, submitted the following plan for the establishment of Pastoral Libraries.

That the TRUSTEES of this Union be instructed to make immediate effort to raise a fund of at least TWELVE THOUSAND DOLLARS (\$12,000), to aid Congregational Churches, especially those which are comparatively feeble, to form Pastoral Libraries; said Fund to be administered in accordance with the following rules:—

I. The interest of it may be annually distributed in promotion of this object; and to this interest may be added, at the discretion of the Trustees, such other sums as shall be annually contributed by churches or individuals, for the same special purpose; but no portion of the original Fund of Twelve Thousand Dollars shall be ever expended, the same being always retained as a basis of operations.

II. Appropriations under this plan may be made to any Congregational Church, evangelical in its faith, within the United States; but the Trustees shall always have the right to select, from the applications made to them, such as seem to them at once most needy and most promising.

III. No sum exceeding FIFTY DOLLARS (\$50), shall be appropriated to any one church in one year.

IV. No sum shall be appropriated to any church until at least an equal amount has been raised by the church itself, to be expended at the same time, for the same purpose.

V. The appropriation made by the Trustees may be paid by them in money, or, at their discretion, in standard biblical, theological, and historical works, to be purchased by them at wholesale and distributed at cost; and they shall always have power, in making an appropriation, to require that the total list of works to be purchased be submitted to them, and approved or amended by them.

VI. Every congregation receiving such an appropriation shall enter into covenant with the Trustees that the Library thus founded shall remain in perpetuity a "Pastoral Library," for the special use of the minister or ministers of that church; that no division of it shall be made among the members of said church, but that it shall be kept by itself, in a secure place, insured against loss by fire; and that, in the event of the extinction or dissolution of the church, it shall revert to the disposal of the Trustees.

VII. No moneys accruing from this fund shall be applied to any other use than the formation of Pastoral Libraries, as specified above.

VIII. These Rules for the administration of the Fund shall not be altered, except by a majority of two-thirds of those present and voting at an annual meeting of this Union.

In the course of some remarks, setting forth the need of this scheme, Mr. Storrs said that he knew of one Congregational clergyman whose whole library had consisted of two volumes of Barnes' Notes. He also stated that, by an arrangement with booksellers, the Trustees would be able to purchase works for these libraries at cost, thus securing to the churches a larger supply of books than they could otherwise procure for the same investment.

The Trustees were authorized to take immediate measures to carry out the foregoing plan.

THE COLLATION.

On Thursday evening the members of the Union, with a large company of ladies and gentlemen, assembled in the dining-hall of the Mansion House, Brooklyn, to partake of an elegant collation, provided under the direction of the Committee of Arrangements. As there was no reporter present on behalf of the Trustees, we are dependent upon the brief reports of the newspapers and our own recollections, for a sketch of the speeches on this occasion. It will be noticed that several of the "sentiments" were drawn directly or indirectly from the address of Prof. Park, which gave them a point not at first obvious to the general reader. The following brief outline may serve to convey the spirit of the occasion to those not present, and to revive its interest in the minds of those who were.

CHANDLER STARR, Esq., of Brooklyn, was called to the chair, and acknowledged the honor in a few appropriate remarks.

Rev. Lyman Beecher, D.D., asked a blessing upon the feast.

After the company had partaken of the viands prepared, Rev. R. S. Storrs, Jr., said it was his purpose simply to welcome his brethren from other parts of the country to Brooklyn, of which he felt warranted to say, in the language of the apostle, that his "was no mean city." It was a city of residences, not of stores. If they wanted to find traffic, they would have to go to the noisy and dirty suburb on the other side of the water. Brooklyn was a moral city. It had many churches, but no theatres. In New York they had many churches, also, but many theatres and other places of temptation. The East and the West were now met together on the Brooklyn Heights, in cordial fellowship; and we could feel the pulses of the two beating harmoniously. Congregationalism had left its sea of Galilee, New England, and gone out on its Mediterranean, the great belt of States from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

He closed by a brief statement of the plan for promoting the establishment of Pastoral Libraries, and said he was authorized to announce that a member of the Church of the Pilgrims had pledged the sum of FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS towards the proposed permanent fund of Twelve thousand dollars, provided the remainder be made up by the 1st of January next.

The chairman then commenced giving out the sentiments that had been prepared by the committee, calling for a response to each from some gentleman present.

1. *Fraternity the Bond of our Union.*

Rev. Mr. Budington, of Charlestown, Mass., after expressing his warm acknowledgments for the kind reception extended to the ministers of the East by their Brooklyn brethren, and promising a hearty return in old Faneuil Hall at Boston, feelingly referred to the history of Congregationalism, and the services it had rendered in the old and new world to the cause of constitutional liberty. This speech was one of rare eloquence and beauty—illustrating the strength, the purity, and the charity of the early Congregationalists of New England.

2. *The Fathers of New England—"the old men who are always old."*

The chairman called upon his venerable friend, Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher, to respond to the sentiment, which was a quotation from Dr. Park's address.

On presenting his venerable form, he was received with rapturous applause. He objected to the sentiment which called him out—"The Fathers of New England." When he got old he could speak with more experience, perhaps, than now. He indulged in a strain of humorous remark, which kept the company in a high state of exhilaration. He followed this with a brief outline of his earlier career as a preacher, which he cut suddenly short, promising to finish it on some future occasion of the same nature, if he should become an old man.

3. *The Memory of the New Haven Colony.*

Rev. Mr. Dutton, of New Haven, in referring to the earliest days of the old colony, would suggest three pictures for an artist. The first of these would represent the first Sabbath after the landing of the original colonists, their ship anchored near the shore, their company gathered around and under an old oak tree, listening to the words of John Davenport. The second, the New Haven colonists assembled some fourteen months afterwards in Mr. Carleton's barn, to prepare for the organization of the first church. The third, a cave of huge, rough stones, and standing at its entrance, two men of marked features—men who had pronounced the doom of royal traitors in England; children in the distance, bringing them food. Mr. Dutton alluded, with much pertinence and force, to the refusal of the New Haven colonists to surrender these illustrious "fugitives," and to the preaching of Davenport against such surrendering. "Hide the outcast; bewray not him that wandereth." Modesty forbade him to speak of the person who now occupied the pulpit of the younger Edwards, but he was free to say that the man who now stands in the pulpit of John Davenport [Rev. Dr. Bacon] can be depended on to sustain his principles of the love of liberty, civil and religious.

4. *Greetings to Down East.*

Rev. Dr. Tappan, of Augusta, was called up, and gave a very interesting account of the growth of Congregationalism throughout that section of the United States, and spoke with enthusiastic hope of the great future yet reserved for his denomination in New England. He also spoke of the highly beneficial effects of the Maine Law, which was in no small degree the fruit of Congregationalism.

5. *The Far West, the farthest outpost of freedom, order, union, and truth on the banks of the Mississippi, linked by golden bands to our metropolitan heart and granite history.*

Rev. Dr. Post, of St. Louis, said he did not come from the "far West" at all, but from the "centre." The last they saw of the "far West" was a glimpse of his garments as he flitted across the Rocky Mountains, and they had heard of him as sojourning for a time on the shores of the Pacific. He did not even occupy the outposts of Congregationalism, for there were many churches beyond him, although he was willing to be considered an "out-Post," as he stood alone in St. Louis, and was himself both pastor and association, conference, and general association, in his own person. He compared the condition of the churches in the West ten years ago, with their flourishing condition now, and concluded his remarks by some very eloquent allusions to the unity and harmony of the Congre-

gational body in America. "We are and shall be one," he said, "one in Christ our Lord, and, as the shadows fall upon these faces, young and old, around me, and they pass into the night and are known on earth, in life, no more, the good deeds done in their generation shall have built a glorious church over the land where their ashes will repose. From old Faneuil Hall, the voice of the truth, stronger even than of yore, shall have crossed the great waters, and aroused in the distant parent-land the spirit of other years, and a new pilgrim emigration shall again unfurl the tattered banner of the 'Mayflower' to the breeze, and bear it westward to the slopes of Nebraska, and hang it on the summits of Oregon, where the mountain airs will play through its folds as gallantly and freshly as they did when it waved in peace over the bay, whose billows rocked the earliest keels that bore our Pilgrim Fathers to the wild shores of New England."

6. *The Fraternity of our Denominational Organizations.*

Rev. Dr. Bacon said he had been called up, as he supposed, by virtue of his office as president of the Congregational Union. After stating very briefly the design of the organization, and of the kindred society at Boston, he said his principal purpose was to introduce the distinguished President of the Congregational Library Association [Rev. Dr. W. T. Dwight]; and preparatory to this, he would relate an anecdote of the parentage of his friend. He then told the story of a very black man who came to New Haven from North Carolina, to obtain money for the redemption of his family. He had excellent credentials, and he got his money. Dr. B. found, on conversing with him, that he was quite intelligent, using better language and more correct grammar than half the members of Congress who support the Nebraska bill. He also learned that he was a preacher of the gospel, and that he could read pretty well, and that he had not only read the Bible, but another book which he owned, and which contained, he said, the life of a man that used to live in New Haven. By further questioning, it came out that this preaching slave owned Dwight's Theology, complete in five volumes; and it was by his diligent study of this noble and standard specimen of Congregational literature, that his soul had been comforted and his mind expanded and cultivated.

Rev. Wm. T. Dwight, D.D., of Portland, followed; and after responding to the fraternal sentiments of the occasion, spoke with enthusiasm of the meeting in Brooklyn, and of the satisfaction enjoyed by the "old folks" in coming here from New England "to look after the boys." He thought they appeared "well to do in the world," and able to take care of themselves," and if they should require an occasional admonition from "home," it would do them good. He said they of New England were not easily discouraged. Nebraska bills and dough-faces could not frighten them. He hoped "the boys" of New York would prove equally unfaltering; but they must not set up to teach their fathers. He invited the Union to exchange salutations with the Library Association at Faneuil Hall.

Mr. Simeon B. Chittenden made a few remarks in this connexion on the importance of having the Congregational Union effectively sustained by ministers and churches in all parts of the country; that it should not be

left to the support of those in New York and Brooklyn. It would not live in this way, as a national institution.

7. *The man who "means well" and is "about right;" the people must have his strong pamphlet.*

This was another sentiment drawn from Prof. Park's address, and he was called up to respond to it. He made many palpable hits. Those who are familiar with Professor Park only as a writer on theological subjects, were both surprised and delighted by the playfulness of his wit and the fluency and force of his extemporaneous speech.

Alluding to the commercial strength and energy of New York, and to the animation of the scene around him, he said that Andover had little to contribute to such an occasion. "We," said he, "are all made of theology. It was said of one of our students as his recommendation to a parish, that he could look half an hour at the edge of a razor without winking. Professor Stuart was once asked by a lady concerning the qualifications of a young man who had sought the hand of her daughter. 'That man,' said he,—'why he reads German like *that*,' snapping his fingers. Sometimes we have theological spectres; Pelagianism, and *Semi-Pelagianism*—a ghost that comes flitting up the Connecticut, across Massachusetts, and down the Merrimac, where it hovers around Andover. We discuss such questions as, whether men are sinners at birth, or before birth, or were sinners in Adam six thousand years ago, which is the true "Conflict of Ages." Prof. P. insisted in eloquent terms upon the unity of Congregationalists.

8. *Andover Theological Seminary.*

Prof. Stowe responded, earnestly pledging the seminary to as firm a course in support of freedom, as it had held of old in favor of sound theology and of missions. He spoke with particular reference to firm and decided action on the part of the Congregational churches, in the tremendous struggle before us. The days of Compromise, he said, were past; the time for determined resistance to the advance of absolutism, in all its forms, had come! No more cowardice, corruption, and compromise! He said, by the help of God, no slavery, mental or physical, should ever pollute the soil of New England.

9. *Congregationalism in the Capital of New York.*

This was responded to by Hon. Bradford R. Wood, of Albany, who said he came from a place which used to be described in Morse's Geography as having such a number of houses, and such a number of inhabitants, "all standing with their gable-ends to the street." He made a hit at Gov. Seymour's veto of the Maine Law, and closed with some remarks upon the conflicting elements of society—war reigning in Europe; slavery seeking to rule in America. He denounced Senator Douglas, for his course with reference to Nebraska; and called upon his Congregational brethren to be faithful to their mission, on which so much depended of progress and happiness to the nations. He terminated his remarks by denouncing any further fellowship with political men who are coquetting with absolutism.

10. *"Young men, who are always young, young by nature, and more young by practice."*

Rev. Henry Ward Beecher was called for, and came forward amid loud cheers, but declined to speak, assigning as a reason that he had been taught when a boy, in New England, to go to bed at nine o'clock, and it was now almost eleven.

11. *The bishops of Commerce, who sell goods to further their principles: may the church have ten thousand more.*

This was responded to at some length by Mr. Bowen, of the firm of Bowen, McNamee & Co., in a very sensible address, urging the pastors of churches and others, who were in search of funds for the purposes of the denomination, to appeal to the laymen, and leave the clergymen undisturbed. Thus their object would be best attained: and he felt confident that the laymen would be found willing at all times. He added a number of plain and faithful suggestions as to what laymen had a right to expect of their pastors, as he said it was not often that he got an opportunity to preach to so many clergymen.

A humorous response to Mr. Bowen, by Rev. H. W. Beecher (his pastor), followed.

An announcement that the Horticultural Society of Brooklyn had extended an invitation to the gentlemen of the Congregational Union, to visit their superb collection of flowers, concluded this extremely agreeable and satisfactory entertainment.











